

# The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH  
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND  
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

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Editorial	309
Two Schoolmasters of the Renaissance	Florence A. Gragg 311
Theodore Mommsen	Francis W. Kelsey 324
The Disobedience of Clearchus at Cunaxa	Joseph William Hewitt 237
Archaeology in 1917	George H. Chase 250
Survival of Type	Frances Juliette Hosford 258
Friends Outside	Mignonette Spillman 261
Notes	
Classical Standards in Contemporary Schools	Horace Martin Poynter 264
On B.G. I. 40. 5	Bernard M. Allen 265
Current Events	267
General Comment	270
Recent Books	272

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the co-operation  
of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association  
of the Pacific States

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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JANUARY 1919

NUMBER 4

## Editorial

### REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH, SEPTEMBER 1, 1917—AUGUST 31, 1918

The account below represents the expenditures and receipts of the Classical Association for the year, September 1, 1917, to August 31, 1918, with corresponding figures for the preceding year.

Expenditures	Year Ending August 31, 1918	Year Ending August 31, 1917
Cash on hand.....	\$ 578.11	\$ 725.16
Publication of <i>Classical Journal</i> .....	3,847.30	3,916.15
Publication of <i>Classical Philology</i> .....	349.70	214.90
Clerical help.....	366.25	196.23
Postage.....	205.90	180.80
Vice-Presidents.....	137.86	55.91
Miscellaneous printing.....	175.93	177.96
Editor's office.....	87.25	56.65
Annual meeting.....	237.94	224.22
Publicity Committee.....	128.71	37.24
Sundries.....	16.77	.....
Total.....	\$6,131.72	\$5,785.22
Receipts		
Balance from preceding year.....	\$ 725.16	\$ 970.50
Membership dues.....	3,863.15	3,288.90
Commissions from University of Chicago Press.....	1,543.41	1,512.58
Sundries.....	.....	13.24
Total.....	\$6,131.72	\$5,785.22

We have examined the accounts of the Treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, for the year, September 1, 1917, to August 31, 1918, and have found them correct.

MYRA H. HANSON

FON BERGER

MARGARET E. SCHAFF

A comparison shows that while the membership of the Association has increased by over one hundred during the last year, and while the receipts from membership dues were greater by nearly \$600, the cash balance of the Association has been reduced from \$725.00 to \$578.00.

This decrease is due to increased expenses in two or three items. The largest single increase is that in clerical help in the Secretary's office. The increased help in the Secretary's office means a more active canvass for members, and more complete collections of dues. The cost of securing additional members to the Association increases with the number secured, and I presume a point might be reached where securing additional members would mean a financial loss.

The increase in postage is, of course, due to the increased postal rates, and the increase in expenses for Vice-Presidents represents more money spent for campaign activities. The same may be said of the work of the Publicity Committee, though the activity of this Committee is not confined to recruiting members for the Association.

The cash balance of the Association has now been reduced to a point where it will be nearly exhausted by issuing the Index for the *Classical Journal* which was approved at the last annual meeting.

The Classical Association has been very fortunate to have a printing contract which has covered a period when printing expenses have arisen so rapidly. When the new contract must be made for the publication of the *Classical Journal*, the expenses of printing will be largely increased, and it may be necessary for the Association to economize more strictly than it has been doing.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS E. LORD, *Treasurer*



## TWO SCHOOLMASTERS OF THE RENAISSANCE<sup>1</sup>

BY FLORENCE A. GRAGG  
Smith College

Among the many scholars who heralded and spread the Revival of Learning in all the countries of Europe not a few were schoolmasters, and schoolmasters who came to their profession with a complete and passionate conviction that on their fulfilment of their office depended, not only the learning, but the gentle manners, the government, and the morals of the world. The full brilliance of the Renaissance is seen in Italy alone; the courts of Urbino and Ferrara have no counterparts elsewhere; we see no northern school through the golden light that hangs about the school of Vittorino at Mantua. But scholars in the North were not behind the Italians in devotion to their purpose; to all, the aim of education was *utilitas*, efficiency as individuals and as members of communities; to all, Latin and Greek were an indispensable means to that end. If it is Alberti of Florence who says, "Letters can never be a hindrance, but are in the result a distinct source of strength to all who follow any profession whatever," it is Erasmus of Rotterdam who insists that "within the two literatures of Greece and Rome is contained all the knowledge that we recognize as vital to mankind."<sup>2</sup> All alike agreed in scoffing at the notion that classics corrupted morals, and the North, with its greater insistence on *pietas*, so far from lowering the standard of learning found in letters the road to virtue and in virtue the mark of the true scholar. Furthermore, to all, as to Quintilian, eloquence was a necessity that the treasure of learning might be put to its widest use, and no age could say with more conviction, *omnium regina rerum oratio*. That a man should speak Latin was taken for granted, but to speak *good* Latin required

<sup>1</sup> Read before the New England Classical Association, March 23, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by W. H. Woodward, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance*, pp. 61 and 114.

training, and to give this training was the object of the numerous school colloquies, which aimed to teach the Latin of Terence and of Cicero's *Letters*, and to banish, as the Master of St. Paul's had it, "all barbarity, all corruption, all Latin adulterate, which ignorant, blind fools brought into this world, with which they poisoned the old Latin speech."<sup>1</sup>

Among these colloquia those of Erasmus are justly the most famous, but the satire, the wit, the criticism, which give them their distinction and, above all, their controversial character, can be fully appreciated only by adults. To find the colloquy perfected as a means of teaching beginners we must go to two of his contemporaries, Mathurin Cordier, the teacher and the pupil of Calvin, and Juan Luis Vives, who, though a Spaniard, spent most of his life in Northern Europe, and whose coming to England under the patronage of his countrywoman, Catherine of Aragon, gave new impulse to education there.

Cordier, commonly called Corderius, was born in Normandy in 1479. He was educated and ordained at Paris and then entered on a long life as a teacher, notably at Paris, where Calvin was among his pupils, at Bordeaux, and at Geneva. Before going to Bordeaux in 1534 he had become an ardent disciple of Calvin, and after two years he followed him to Switzerland, where he was teaching in the Collège de la Rive at Geneva at his death. To his complete understanding of children and to his insistence on a sound foundation for scholarship may be traced his brilliant success as a teacher. He never felt it beneath his dignity to teach the elements. Early in his career we find him giving up the chair of rhetoric at Paris to teach the classes in grammar, and later he urged upon the authorities at Geneva the necessity for thorough grammatical drill before rhetorical display. A tribute to his success is found in a Latin grammar published at Paris in 1534, where one of the model sentences runs, *Ubi cumque docebit Maturinus Corderius, flore bunt bonae litterae*.

At the age of eighty-five, after fifty years spent in trying to make boys good and cultured, he published his four books of

<sup>1</sup> Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, p. 325. To this book and to the same author's *Tudor Schoolboy Life* I am indebted for much in this paper.

*Colloquia scholastica*, which had been begun at the suggestion of Robert Stephanus, *amicorum meorum intimus*. They were dedicated *ad bene vivendi recteque loquendi studiosos* and aimed *ad pietatem et bonos mores cum litterarum elegantia coniungendos*. They were to show children of ten or eleven how Latin could be applied to subjects of daily interest to them. They were not meant to be learned by heart, but to be read carefully and to serve as models for conversations both in and out of class. There is no attempt to give complete vocabularies on particular subjects except in a few of the later dialogues. Thus a great many new words at a time are avoided and variety is secured from the first, but the same words and phrases keep recurring in different settings so that the child is being drilled without realizing it. The first are very short, six lines or so, and all are simple. The characters, of whom there are seldom more than two, are pupils, teachers, monitors; the names have usually no point for us, though they may have had for Cordier's pupils; the exception is Calvin, who appears in one dialogue kindly mending a pen for a smaller boy. The charm of these colloquies (for they have a charm) lies in their simplicity, in their natural and casual air, and, for modern readers, in the discovery that Cordier's pupils were much like our own.

The following<sup>1</sup> shows the method with very little boys:

Salve, praeceptor.

Sit vobis salus a Christo, pueri. Amen.

Iamne repetivistis?

Etiam, praeceptor.

Quis docuit vos?

Subdoctor.

Quid nunc vultis?

Ut per te liceat nobis parumper ludere.

Non est ludendi tempus.

Non petimus omnibus, sed nobis parvulis tantum.

Atqui pluit, ut videtis.

Ludemus in pergula.

Quo lusu?

Aciculis vel iuglandibus.

Quid mihi dabitis?

Dicemus nomina.

<sup>1</sup> 1. 58.

Quot dicetis singuli?

Duo.

Dicite igitur.

Paper,<sup>2</sup> charta; ink, atramentum. Dixi.

A book, liber; a little book, libellus. Dixi.

A cherry, cerasum; walnuts, iuglandes. Diximus.

Quam belli estis homunculi! Ludite ad cenam usque.

Gratias agimus, praeceptor.

Many dialogues show boys repeating their lessons to each other, as they were urged to do, with exclamations familiar to every teacher. *O si tam bene diceremus coram praeceptore! Me miserum! putabam me recte tenere.* There is much chatter about school affairs; boys have been absent and must copy notes or catch up on school gossip, what the master said in chapel, who won the prizes, etc. Once we have a list of books used in class, *Rudimenta Grammatica*, *Colloquia*, a dictionary, a Testament in the vernacular, the Psalms, and the Catechism. One ambitious boy has bought Terence, Cato's *Moral Distichs*, and Cicero's *Letters*, that he may study ahead of the class, a purpose which reduces his less ambitious friend to admiring despair, *O me miserum, qui numquam didici quid sit studiosum esse!* There is much comparing of notes as to what they have brought for luncheon. They talk about borrowing and lending paper, pens, ink, knives, money. Books are lost and found under a variety of circumstances; once a Vergil has even been pawned.

Children ask permission to go on all sorts of errands—to the barber, to the shoemaker, to the market, to the inn to see visiting parents. One boy wants to go to his cousin's wedding; another has been sent for by his mother and he has a hateful suspicion that it may be to have his winter clothes made. Once a boy has been on a trip to Italy and returns full of his adventures.

Often they exchange information about their families. Parents are away or just returned; a sister has married an Englishman and congratulations are in order; a brother has gone off to be a soldier *patre absente, matre invita.*

The fourth book is intended to be more advanced; the colloquies are longer, contain more sustained description, and introduce more

<sup>2</sup> I translate from an edition published in England.



seriously moral questions. One is on the state of religion in England, another inquires whether one may repay evil with evil, another describes the duties of the submaster, and another the discipline of the school.

An effort is made to introduce numerous quotations, and we have them from Cicero's *Letters* (which were considered proper for beginners, while the speeches, as material for rhetorical analysis, came late in the course), from Quintilian, the very foundation of Renaissance education, from Cato, Publilius Syrus, Terence, Ovid, Horace's *Satires*, and Vergil. They had the great good fortune to read the *Moretum*, and one boy has been into the garden to gather the herbs to make the dish described in it.

An atmosphere of religious and moral training pervades the book. On the most ordinary occasions boys remind one another that God's will is law or that he is the source of all blessings. *Dei beneficio, Deo volente, Bene vertat Deus*, come readily to their lips, but they are saved from priggishness by their directness and simplicity. The boys are not all models either. There is the grumbler who hates to study, *Scio legere, scribere, Latine loqui, saltem mediocriter; quid opus est mihi tanta scientia? ego plura scio quam tres sacerdotes papistici*; the boy who confesses that he heard the text, but through the sermon *aut dormiebam aut cogitabam mille ineptias, ut solent pueri*; the mean boy who toadies to his friends who have money; the irritating boy who in class is always whispering, or snickering, or nudging his neighbor; the exasperating boy who is always asking where the lesson is "because he was absent yesterday," till the master losses patience, *Roga condiscipulos, nam si vellent singuli me interrogare de rebus a me palam dictis, quaeso quando finis esset?* Once a boy is beside himself with terror because he and his friends have been caught drinking by the master.

We get too a great deal of information about the families of the children. Many of the boys are sons of farmers, and they are called home to help with the vine dressing, or the vintage, or packing fruit, or piling wood. Some are sons of business men who go on journeys to France and England. Most are in comfortable circumstances; occasionally one is so poor that he cannot buy his own books; a few are rich, like the boy whose father has a great

game preserve, or the one who describes the elaborate dinner given by his uncle.

Sometimes the pupils live at home and bring their luncheons or lunch at the school table; sometimes they board in the school or in the town with the masters, like the boy who complains of his noisy boarding-place, where his room is so near the stairs that not even a cat can get by without his hearing it, and directly under the storeroom, so that he hears the moving of every box. He is obliged to stay there because the master of the house is an old friend of his father, and his father, not having much education himself, cannot see why quiet is needed for study. Other fathers complain that so much has to be spent on books, or wish their children to get educated in a year and be done with it. Oftener, however, the fathers are represented as giving sympathy and help; some regularly hear their children recite their lessons. One famous colloquy<sup>1</sup> shows the importance of Latin in a cultured family.

But your brother, how old is he?

Five.

What, does he speak Latin?

Why are you so surprised? We always have a tutor at home who is learned and conscientious and he is always teaching us to speak Latin. He never uses a word of English except to explain things. Why, we don't dare speak to Father, even, in anything but Latin.

Don't you ever speak English?

Only with Mother, and that at a special time, when she sends for us.

What do you speak with the servants?

We seldom speak to the servants and that only in passing; but the men servants address us in Latin.

How about the maids?

If we need to speak to them we use the vernacular, as with Mother.

How lucky you are to have such careful teaching!

We must thank God for giving us a father who takes such pains with our education.

Of course honor and praise for it belongs to the Father in Heaven.

But what are we doing? I hear them calling the roll.

Then we'd better hurry!

Mothers seem to be useful chiefly to put up luncheons; otherwise they are regarded as rather a hindrance to education. One

<sup>1</sup> 2. 50.

boy relates how his brother, who had been sent to Germany to learn the language, has come home because he missed his mother so, whereupon his friend sagely remarks, "See how foolish this excessive love for our mothers is!" "Well," rejoins the other, "it's our mothers' fault. Why do they love us so much?" "It's hard to repress nature." "Do you remember a verse of Horace that's like that?" "Yes. *Naturam expellas furca licet [sic]; usque recurret.*" Another boy asks a friend how his mother treats him, and on being told *Suavissime omninoque ex animi sententia*, observes darkly, *Fortasse in tuam perniciem*. It is easy to see that the "cockering" mother was not encouraged.

Of the school itself we get a pleasant picture,<sup>1</sup> with the master moving among his pupils like a wise father among his children, though his discipline is strict, with the result that "in our school of six hundred boys there is more quiet than in the rubbishy country schools of thirty or forty." Under the master are assistants and monitors, the latter chosen each month and impressed with respect for their office. The boys feel that the rules are just; no one is harshly dealt with except such as hate learning *cane peius et angue*, and a new boy is confidently assured that when the offense has not been public the punishment will not be. Morning chapel is held regularly. Wednesdays and Saturdays are half-holidays. Permission to leave the school grounds is readily granted, but boys must bring *testimonia* from their parents, or have other boys as witnesses that they have been where they were supposed to be.

Latin is the language of the school at all times, as we learn from a chapel talk of the master. "I hear that some of you speak English and no one reports it to me, from which I gather that you are all offenders. Therefore I remind you that you are all to speak Latin conscientiously and to report the names of all who disobey, that I may correct them." Later he explains that he will not punish those who let fall an English word or two, but only those who are systematically on the lookout for excuses to avoid Latin. Cordier, unlike many teachers, respected the vernacular and encouraged its use with very young children, but he saw no way to teach Latin except by consistent use during the period of instruction.

<sup>1</sup> See especially 4. 25.

The style of the *Colloquies* is admirably simple and direct and they are good Latin. Reynolds, the public orator of Oxford in the middle of the seventeenth century, said that when students asked him how they could improve their Latin "he ever bade them get Corderius's *Colloquies* . . . because in them they should find Terence and Tullie's elegancies applied to their foreign talk."<sup>1</sup> They became extraordinarily popular, and their uncontroversial character caused them to be used, with unimportant omissions, even in Catholic schools. They were used in England well into the nineteenth century.

Vives differs from Cordier in almost everything except his purpose. He was born in Valencia in 1492 of noble family. The boy, drilled in mediaeval scholasticism, who at seventeen called the classics "food for demons," became, with Erasmus and Budaeus, one of the great leaders of the Renaissance movement in Northern Europe. His enthusiasm for the new learning was aroused when he went to Paris in 1509, and still more at Bruges and Louvain, where he knew Erasmus. He looks back with horror at the dialectic and disputation of his school days, which turned out boys more incorrigible than Martial's poet: "They wrangle at breakfast, they wrangle after breakfast; before supper they wrangle and they wrangle after supper. At home they dispute, out of doors they dispute. They wrangle over their food, in the bath, in the church, in the town, in the country, in public, in private; at all times they are wrangling."<sup>2</sup> For some years he lived the life of a teacher in Bruges, in Louvain, where he lectured in the university besides taking private pupils, and in Paris. After 1522 he gave up teaching and devoted himself to writing. From 1522 to 1528 he spent part of each year in England, where he enjoyed the patronage of Queen Catherine and held for a time Wolsey's readership in humanity at Oxford. To Catherine he dedicated his *De institutione feminae Christianae* and at her request he wrote for the Princess Mary *De ratione studii puerilis*, two of the most important treatises on the education of women in the Tudor period, as his great work, *De disciplinis*, has been called the greatest Renaissance book on

<sup>1</sup> Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Foster Watson, *Tudor Schoolboy Life*, p. x.



education in general. In 1528, after being imprisoned six months for siding with the Queen in the matter of her divorce, he returned to Bruges, where he died when only forty-eight years old.

Unlike Cordier, Vives was a writer first and a schoolmaster after, but his success in teaching is attested by Sir Thomas More in a letter to Erasmus: "Who surpasses Vives in the quantity and depth of his knowledge? But what is most admirable of all is that he should have acquired all this knowledge so as to be able to communicate it to others by instruction. For who instructs more clearly, more agreeably, or more successfully than Vives?" And his continued interest is shown by the fact that only the year before he died he published his colloquies under the title, *Linguae Latinae exercitatio*.

Though the colloquies are dedicated to the eleven-year-old Prince Philip of Spain, they are not confined to subjects and vocabulary exclusively for children of that age. In them we find very little children learning their letters and playing games, boys going to school, youths starting on journeys on horseback, and older students working till midnight; this is in agreement with Vives's expressed theory that the ideal of the school is continuous training from the cradle to maturity. He has, however, quite as keen a sympathy with childhood as has Cordier, and he is able to treat even subjects outside the child's personal experience in such a way that he is interested in them. It has been acutely said that "the value of the *Exercitatio* may be gauged by the hesitation the reader feels in deciding whether the book is a boy's book or a scholar's book."<sup>1</sup>

There are twenty-five dialogues, longer and more elaborate than those of Cordier, with more characters, more dramatic setting and action, and greater variety of subject. One feels that Vives looked forward to a wider and more brilliant life for his pupils than Cordier for the children of Genevan reformers. His own life had been passed at court or in the society of noble families and the atmosphere of his book shows it, though it is as far removed from snobbery as possible. Each dialogue is on a special topic, reading, writing, games, meals, the house, dress, journeys, the body, etc. The object is to provide

<sup>1</sup> Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, p. 334.

a complete vocabulary on the subject treated, and it is done with thoroughness! For example, in the two dialogues on meals we find the names of some fifty articles of food, and in those on dress as many names of articles of clothing. There is no being drilled without realizing it here!

Although the scene is only occasionally in the school, we hear of it often. The small boy playing with his puppy is led by his father to wish to go to school *quo eunt beluae, redeunt homines*. The father chooses the teacher with few students, and the teacher, when arranging about tuition, makes the surprising statement, "If the boy does well, it will be little; if badly, a great deal," and, more surprising still, the father agrees. In the more advanced school lessons are heard an hour before sunrise, two hours in the morning, and two in the afternoon. Each master has his own classroom and subject. Boys study their lessons aloud to fix them better in the memory, and support the practice by the authority of "Pliny—whoever he was" (*nescio cuius Plinii*). Some get actually to shouting their tasks, and it is explained that they are *Hispani et Galli, paulo ferventiores*. Once we get a picture of the school dinner table, with the boys taking their turns at saying grace, both before and after dinner, and the masters keeping up the conversation and correcting the boys for putting their elbows on the table and dragging their sleeves in the soup.

Like Cordier, Vives is a strong supporter of the claims of the vernacular—indeed this is characteristic of all Spaniards—but Latin is the language of the school. One boy announces that he has just been witness of a *scelus capitale*: an ignorant schoolmaster near by has four times pronounced *volucres* with the accent on the penult. Many Greek words are thrown in on purpose to accustom the boys to hearing Greek.

A great many quotations from classical authors are introduced—from Terence, Martial, Macrobius, Quintilian, Ovid, Persius, Vergil, Valerius Maximus, Pliny, Plautus, Florus, Varro, Cicero, Plato, Aristotle. Boys are waked with appropriate verses from Martial and Persius, the scholar is sung to sleep with a lullaby from Ovid, the lovely spring day is described in verses from the *Georgics*, and a youth on a journey beguiles the way with a song from Politian,

which, he remarks, has the grace of antiquity. Indeed the numerous quotations helped to make the book popular, for, to quote one of the commentators,<sup>1</sup> "In Vives you will find little flowers of Latin eloquence which he has brought together from various most renowned authors, whilst there is nothing in his work which does not seem to suggest even the Christ, or at least the highest morality and sound education." While devout phrases are not so frequent as in Cordier, the tone is reverent, and Vives' ideal of *pietas litterata* is as high. In the dialogue on the boy prince, written expressly for Philip, a wise councilor is represented as showing him that since he will not venture to play a game, or ride a horse, or steer a boat without previous training, it is altogether necessary that he should learn wisdom before attempting to rule, and wisdom, he is taught, comes from learning and from virtue. The last two colloquies are really serious treatises laying down educational precepts. In one the boy is assured that if he has humility and industry he will attain the thorough education that befits a gentleman; and if he lives at court he will be beloved by all; though he will not care so much for that, since his chief care will be to find favor with God. In the other is described the spring of wisdom which "makes a man of a beast and an angel of a man."

There is much play of fancy and exercise of wit throughout. The names of the characters are often amusing: the master is Philiponus; Philippus and Misippus discuss horsemanship, Asotus and Abstemious drunkenness; we are shown over a new house by Vitruvius; the mature scholar is Pliny, assisted in his toil by Epictetus, Celsus, and Didymus; our friend Orbilius appears, having become with the years *rabiosus* as well as *plagosus*; and the good-for-nothing street urchin rejoices in the enchanting Plautine name of Titivillitium.

There are numerous references to contemporary persons and things. We are taken on a stroll through the author's native Valencia and shown the house where he was born. We get his views on the school teachers of Paris and Louvain. We learn that drivers and boatmen asked twice as much as their services were worth, and that nobles were proud of writing a bad hand. The

<sup>1</sup> P. Motta.

English Queen, Catherine of Aragon, is praised as a modern Griselda, and Vives himself is introduced, once as wrestling with the gout, and once as a writer of verse who composes with difficulty and sings his verses with the voice of a goose. In the dialogue on the body the painter Dürer is exhibiting his portrait of Scipio to two friends, who find all sorts of faults, which the artist explains away in most amusing fashion.

Two examples will serve to show how naturally and whimsically Vives has known how to enliven the dialogues. In the first, after we have learned the various articles of dress, we see the distracted maid getting the children off to school.<sup>1</sup>

Let's go now.

What, without washing your face and hands!

Oh, your nagging would be the death of a bull, to say nothing of a man! I should think you were dressing a bride instead of a boy!

Eusebius, bring a basin and pitcher. Hold the pitcher higher. No, pour it slowly, not all at once. Get the dirt out of your knuckles . . . rub your eyebrows and eyelids and rub *hard* under your ears. Now take the towel and dry yourself. *Deum immortalem!* You have to be told every single thing. Couldn't you do anything of your own accord?

Oh, you bother me; I don't like you!

Kneel down now and say your prayer, and be careful, Emmanuel, that you don't think of anything else while you are praying. Here, wait a minute; hang this handkerchief on your girdle so that you can wipe your nose.

Am I ready now to suit you? . . . I bet I've wasted a whole hour dressing.

What if it took two? Where would you have gone or what would you have been doing? Digging, I suppose, or ploughing.

As if I hadn't plenty of things to do!

What a great man! so busy doing nothing!

Get out, you tease, or I'll shy this shoe at you!

The other passage is from the dialogue called "Garrientes" and shows four boys chattering about all sorts of subjects.

Where is your watch?

I lost it a while ago when I was running away from the greengrocer's dog after I'd stolen the plums.

I saw you running, from the window, but I couldn't see where you went to because Mother's hanging garden was in the way. Mother had it put up,

<sup>1</sup> "Surrectio matutina" (II).



though Father didn't want it and made a great row. But Mother persisted and got him to let it stay.

What about you? did you say anything?

I cried to myself. What else could I do when my dearest parents were quarreling? Though Mother did tell me to take her side; but I hadn't the heart to say a word against Father. So I was sent to school without my luncheon four days running by my angry mother, and she swore I wasn't her child anyway, but had been changed by the nurse, and she said she'd have the nurse before the *praetor capitalis*.

What's a *praetor capitalis*? Hasn't every praetor a head on?

I don't know. That's what *she* said.

A deaf woman goes by and one remarks, *Surdaster erat M. Crassus; sed illud peius quod male audiebat.*

A hunter passes, and another says:

He has a chum at home called Tricongius.

Call him an amphora.

No, a sponge.

No, the driest sand in Africa.

They say he's always thirsty.

I don't know whether he's always thirsty, but he's always ready to drink.

They gossip about their former schoolmates—one has gone into his father's shop; another, who used to carry off all the prizes, has grown dull; another has fallen in love (they collect this information from the postman, who has the engaging habit of reading any letter that is not sealed tight). They know town gossip too—

You know Antony, who lives in Fruit Lane by the Three Daws? Haven't you heard? Last year he cooked (*decoxisse*)!

What did he cook? Is that so dreadful? Isn't it done in every kitchen every day?

He cooked his accounts . . . and couldn't pay his bills.

Finally the monitor comes along and calls them to their books.

The *Colloquies* of Vives, like those of Cordier, became exceedingly popular. They were treated almost like a classic with vocabularies in the vernacular, and commentaries. There have been over a hundred editions published in various countries of Europe and even in Mexico. One of the most important editors,<sup>1</sup> himself brought up on the *Colloquies*, pays them an enviable tribute, "As a boy I so loved Luis Vives that not even now do I feel my old love for him has faded away from my mind."

<sup>1</sup> J. T. Freigius.

## THEODORE MOMMSEN<sup>1</sup>

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No adequate life of Theodore Mommsen has yet been written. The reasons are not far to seek. His amazing productivity as a scholar continued almost to the age of eighty-six. When he died, not one of the associates of his early life was living, not one of the intimates of his middle life was still at work; there was no contemporary whose memory spanned his career, who could with personal knowledge contribute a survey of it in its entirety. His range of work was so wide that in these times of narrow specialization younger men, even eminent pupils, might well hesitate to essay the task of tracking out his activities in all fields, and of attempting a final estimate before time and the advance of knowledge should more thoroughly have sifted the products of his labors. He was, moreover, as candid a thinker and fearless a protagonist in the realm of politics as in that of science; owing to the rapid progress of events in the fourteen years since he died, it is perhaps fortunate for the person who shall be chosen to write his life that in accordance with the terms of his will his personal papers are to be withheld from public scrutiny until after 1933.

However that may be, the lack of an authoritative biography, with data supported by selections from his voluminous correspondence, makes it difficult either to obtain a clear view of Mommsen at different periods of his life, or to reconcile the conflicting statements about him which are found in the many brief sketches printed in the journals and, after his death, in the proceedings of the learned societies. These articles range from a gratulatory

<sup>1</sup> The Research Club of the University of Michigan each year devotes a session to the commemoration of the life and works of some scientist whose investigations have strongly influenced the work in his field, and whose birth came a century, or a number of centuries, previously. At such a session in 1917, in recognition of the centenary of Mommsen's birth, this paper was presented, together with a paper dealing with Mommsen's works by Professor H. A. Sanders (*Classical Journal*, XIII [1917], 177-85).

essay by Fritz Jonas, prepared in 1897 as a tribute in recognition of Mommsen's eightieth birthday, to more or less serious attempts to evaluate his work as that by Neumann in the *Historische Zeitschrift* for 1903, by Seeck in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, in the memorial address before the Berlin Academy by Hirschfeld, and the biographical sketch by Hartmann.<sup>1</sup> Among older scholars in the classical field there is a vivid personal tradition with respect to Mommsen, enlivened by amusing stories of his absent-mindedness; some of these stories are now in print, but for the most part in journals published outside of Germany.<sup>2</sup> The greatest drawback in attempting to weave an intelligible narrative of his career is the lack of access to his letters. The few that are accessible in print are characterized by such spontaneity, vigor, and intimacy of self-revelation as to imply that the publication of the correspondence as a whole would not only set out Mommsen's career in a clear light, but also be a contribution of value to the history of classical scholarship in his century.<sup>3</sup>

Theodore Mommsen was born in Garding, a small town in the Dutchy of Schleswig, November 30, 1817. His father, a Frisian by birth, was a clergyman. As evidencing the narrow means of the family, we are informed that when he was born his father had a salary equivalent to about 600 marks, which was supplemented by the produce of a small holding of church land. When the boy

<sup>1</sup> Published in the *Biographisches Jahrbuch und Deutscher Nekrolog* in 1906; reprinted in a small volume under the title *Theodor Mommsen. Eine biographische Skizze, mit einem Anhang: Ausgewählte politische Aufsätze Mommsens*. Gotha, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> As the *Critic* (New York), XLIV (1904), 64-70; the *Outlook*, LXXV (1903), 631, 632, 824 (with portrait). A striking portrait of Mommsen is published, with those of other classical scholars, by A. Gudeman, *Imagines philologorum* (Leipzig, 1911).

<sup>3</sup> In response to an inquiry regarding the disposition of Mommsen's letters, Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who is a son-in-law of Mommsen, lately wrote as follows: "Mommsen hat leider in seinem Testamente bestimmt, dass sein gesammtter Nachlass dreissig Jahre nach seinem Tode der Oeffentlichkeit entzogen bleiben soll. Er ist daher von dem Testamentsvollstrecker der königlichen Bibliothek übergeben, wo er unter strengem Verschlusse bleibt. Dort werden auch seine Briefe im Original oder in Abschriften gesammelt, und es sind nur vorher einige wenige hier und da veröffentlicht, die Sie kaum verfolgen können. Er hat auch Tagebücher aus seiner Jugend und von der ersten Reise hinterlassen. Ich habe diese und manche Correspondenz gelesen, die für die ersten fünfzig Jahre seines Lebens ergiebig sind, aber mitteilen lässt sich nichts."

was three years old, the father was appointed to a somewhat better charge at Oldesloe, in Holstein, where he labored as pastor until his death, in 1851.

The young Theodore and his brother Tycho, two years younger, were led to devote themselves to scholarship, we are told, by the teaching of their father, who inspired in them also a taste for poetry. So excellent was their instruction at home that both were admitted to the last year of the *Christianeum*, a type of *Gymnasium*, in Altona, opposite Hamburg, in 1834. On completing the regular course both were permitted to pursue an advanced course then offered under the name *Selecta*, the costs being defrayed by a scholarship fund; and in 1838, on completing the advanced course, Theodore received a relatively large stipend, roughly corresponding with an American fellowship. In Altona he studied much Latin and Greek, but also theology, philosophy, rhetoric, German literature, history, mathematics, physics, and the Danish, French, and English languages. An important factor in his development was a "Scientific Club" (*Altonaer wissenschaftlicher Verein*), conducted by students, in which the exercises consisted largely in the interpretation of Latin authors, but included discussions of various themes as well. The titles of three student papers prepared by him, and showing the trend of his mind, are: "What Are the Requirements of a Good Biography?" "Geniuses Are a Necessary Evil"; "Why Is Much Criticism Harmful?"

In the spring of 1838 Mommsen entered the University of Kiel, enrolling himself as a student of law. Kiel, though a provincial university, then as afterward had in its faculty men of strong personality. Three of these seem in no small degree to have influenced the direction of young Mommsen's development, Burchardi, Osenbrüggen, and Otto Jahn. Burchardi had been a pupil of Savigny, whose studies in the Roman law early in the last century introduced a new epoch in the history of this subject. Osenbrüggen was a philologist, but with so strong leanings toward the legal side that afterward he became a member of the law faculty. Otto Jahn, a native of Kiel and only four years older than Mommsen, was also a philologist who, as a pupil of August Boeckh, had gained a broad view of the scope of classical philology and the close inter-



relationship between the study of the ancient languages and that of institutions and life. Jahn had, moreover, acquired a deep interest in the study of inscriptions.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find that in his five years of residence at the University of Kiel, Mommsen's career as a scholar was definitely shaped. Law remained, to be sure, his first, we may almost say his professional, interest, and he recognized in Roman law the most important development of Roman civilization. Nevertheless he had reached the conviction that law cannot be rightly understood and interpreted as an isolated development, and that Roman law in particular, in order to be comprehended in its genesis and application, must be illumined by the study of every aspect of the civilization of which it formed a part. Mommsen had furthermore a full appreciation of the value of inscriptions as first-hand evidence; and he had obtained an adequate equipment for the work of investigation.

The interdependence of philological and legal studies, through which each group is enabled to contribute to the elucidation of the other, is now generally recognized. But we must not forget that this recognition is due in no slight measure to Mommsen's own labors and example, for when he took his Doctor's degree, in 1843, even public and private law were too often treated as if unrelated, while students of philology and law seemed to have nothing in common—a condition to which, in the face of the efforts of some broadminded deans, our American universities in too many cases have reverted.

The university career of Mommsen was not, however, so absorbed in his chosen work as to exclude all other interests, nor was it lacking in the diversions of student life. He and his brother Tycho, who was also at Kiel, became close friends of Theodore Storm, the poet. As a result, the three students published in Kiel, in 1843, a small volume of poems under the title *Liederbuch dreier Freunde*. In later life also, if we may anticipate for a moment, Mommsen occasionally wrote verse; and in 1879 he and Wilamowitz put forth in translation a collection of poems by the Italian Carducci.

Theodore Mommsen and Storm moreover formed a plan to collect the folk-songs and folk-tales of their region. This they

deemed a patriotic duty. The political affiliation of Holstein and Schleswig—whether the two dutchies should be more closely bound to Denmark, or joined to Prussia—was already a burning question. Mommsen ardently espoused the German side and joined with other students at Kiel in conducting a lively agitation in favor of union with Prussia. His participation in the pious task of assembling his country's folk-tales was prevented, however, by his long absence in Southern Europe.

On receiving his degree Mommsen turned for self-support to teaching. The only opening that presented itself was a kind of dual position, in two girls' boarding-schools in Hamburg, where he gave instruction in geography, history, German literature and theme-writing, French, and Latin. As a teacher he was very successful and made friends both for himself and for the schools. He also wrote for the press, and frequently attended the theater in connection with his newspaper work.

In 1844 Mommsen was awarded a Danish stipend which enabled him to go to France and Italy. In Rome the German Archaeological Institute, founded in 1829, furnished an ideal working-place for scholars, and Mommsen soon found a helpful friend in Henzen, the second secretary. He had had in mind a plan to carry out a suggestion of Savigny and make in Italy a collection of inscriptions relating to Roman law; but this idea was soon abandoned in favor of the larger plan to gather up all Latin inscriptions in a single comprehensive publication. The suggestion of such a corpus had been made by Kellermann a few years before; the long and at times acrimonious strife over the handling of the project<sup>1</sup> need not be discussed here.

Three profitable years Mommsen spent in Italy, in some respects the happiest, if not relatively the most profitable, of his life. Being free to use his time as he pleased, he went from place to place making the acquaintance of scholars, hunting inscriptions, searching libraries; he became, as nearly as a northerner can become, himself an Italian. And in this period began his astounding fertility of

<sup>1</sup> Summarized by Hirschfeld, *Abh. der Akad. zu Berlin* (1904), pp. 6 ff. Cf. Harnack, *Geschichte der königlichen preuss. Akademie zu Berlin*, I, 772 ff., and 900 ff.; Mommsen's full plan for the *Corpus*, matured in 1847, is published by Harnack in the same work, II, 522-40.

production. The list of his writings records more than eighty titles of publications—most of them naturally very short—that appeared while he was in Italy; this is an average of more than two articles a month for the entire time.

The sojourn in Italy had several important results. In the first place, it established a relationship of intimacy with Italian scholars which continued for many years and which assured their fullest co-operation in any work requiring their assistance. In the second place, Mommsen was able to collect the inscriptions of the then kingdom of Naples in order to publish them in a way to furnish a model for the proposed *Corpus*. Again, in working over the Latin inscriptions he collected the inscriptions in the ancient dialects akin to Latin, and so prepared the way for their elucidation later. Finally, from his residence in Italy he gained a sympathetic knowledge of the climate, country, and people, which later furnished a realistic background for his Roman history.

Among the Italian scholars were two whose acquaintance proved of paramount importance to Mommsen—Bartolommeo Borghesi and Giovanni Battista de Rossi. Borghesi was a nobleman, born in 1781; he had devoted himself to scholarship, particularly to inscriptions and coins, and was at the zenith of his powers and reputation. Mommsen visited him at San Marino, and in an enthusiastic letter tells us how no one in or outside of university circles had ever before so impressed him with weight and scope of learning. De Rossi, slightly younger than Mommsen, a man of brilliant intellect, was working in the catacombs and placing the interpretation of Christian inscriptions on a scientific basis; and no other scholar had so full a knowledge of the manuscripts containing epigraphic material.

Leaving Italy in 1847, Mommsen found his homeland in a political ferment. For a time he turned journalist, working on the staff of the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Zeitung*. His labors as a newspaper man, however, were short; in 1848 he was called as an extraordinary professor of Roman law to the University of Leipzig. Here his warm friend Otto Jahn had been installed as a professor the previous year, and he soon became one of a small circle of congenial friends; the best-known names in the circle, outside of

Jahn and Mommsen, are Moritz Haupt and Karl Reimer, the publisher, who afterward became Mommsen's father-in-law.

In the political upheaval that soon followed, though the friends were Liberals, not Radicals, their frankness of speech and their connection with a political *Deutscher Verein* offended the Saxon government. Haupt, Jahn, and Mommsen were put under arrest; although cleared in court they were dismissed from their professorships on the ground that their conduct "had created a public scandal and that they had set a very bad example [*ein sehr schlechtes Beispiel*] for the academic youth." None of the men, however, was long without academic standing. In 1852 Mommsen was called to the law faculty of Zürich; the following year Jahn went to the University of Munich and Haupt to the University of Berlin. Reimer later sold out his business in Leipzig and went to Berlin.

Though at Zürich Mommsen enjoyed the companionship of his former teacher Osenbrüggen and other good friends, he was not content; after a sojourn of only two years he gladly accepted a call to the University of Breslau, chiefly, we are told, because it brought him nearer to his homeland and to Berlin, where he still hoped to find adequate support for the publication of the Latin inscriptions. At Zürich he finished the first volume of his *Roman History*.

In Breslau Mommsen remained four years. The situation finally cleared for the publication of the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions under his editorship, with the support of the Berlin Academy; and in 1857 he was called to the University of Berlin, where in the following year he became a member of the philosophical faculty. Here for forty-five years he continued to work, almost to the day of his death, November 1, 1903. In addition to his duties as professor and as editor, on the death of Haupt, in 1874, he became secretary of the Berlin Academy.

A lively impression of Mommsen's work as a professor is produced when we read the reminiscences of his pupils in those first years in Berlin. Abstracted and oblivious to all surroundings as he often appeared outside the lecture-room, the moment he stood before his students all was changed; his slender form was animation itself, his method of presentation, though handicapped by a voice

not well adapted for lecturing, was earnest and clear. In his seminary he was patient to the limit in correcting papers for errors of fact and method; Seeck tells us how his first paper, large in generalities but small in substance (he was only nineteen when he wrote it), fared at Mommsen's hands. In the kindest manner the master pointed out blunder after blunder, and Seeck went out into the night air with tears in his eyes; as soon as he was by himself he tore the manuscript to bits, and from that evening dated his rebirth as a student.

But Mommsen's students above all prized those evenings in which, in accordance with the German custom, they met him less formally. Seeck writes:

When about eight o'clock we left Mommsen's house, we went ordinarily to a *Kneipe*, nevertheless in most cases his lecture had so stirred us up that it continued to be the subject of ardent discussion and our student jollification got under way only at a late hour. And when he had us at the table, or—what pleased us even more—when he accepted our invitation to a *Kneipe*, those were glorious evenings! Conversation flew thick and fast, on political and economic questions, on literature and art; he knew everything, and he had a gift of pungent characterization, now with a fitting phrase seriously uttered, now with a stinging jest. From his example we learned that the historical scholar must work hard, to be sure, but that he must also take his nose out of his books and look with fresh eyes out into the world—if, at any rate, he would be a sound historian. And when our heads began to get hot, even as the moment drew near when the barriers of proper reserve seemed about to break, in the midst of the uproarious crowd Mommsen would continue to sit undisturbed, laughing and joking like a young student.

The picture of Mommsen at a *Kneipe* reminds one of Socrates at a symposium.

Sharpness of tongue was characteristic of Mommsen at all times of life. In his earlier years at any rate he seems to have prided himself upon it; but we are told that he used his biting wit only in intercourse with those on the same or on a higher plane; in dealing with students he never resorted to sarcasm except when, as rarely happened, someone attempted to pass work not his own. Then, in accordance with the commendable German custom, phials of wrath were emptied and the would-be cheat in most cases never again darkened Mommsen's door.



I have dwelt thus upon Mommsen's conscientious discharge of his duties as a teacher because this side of his professional routine is so overshadowed by his services as an investigator that it is frequently lost sight of; and as old age came on he was naturally obliged more and more to relinquish work with students, so that those who went to him in the later years found things changed. It is also good and salutary for the soul to hold such an example before our eyes in these days, when research has become a word to conjure with, and many a university teacher has tried to excuse slipshod or inadequate work in his classroom on the ground that investigation is his primary concern. The breadth of human interest which Mommsen revealed in his relations with his students and his friends was no mean factor in his success as a historical investigator; it helped him to establish points of view outside himself, and to maintain a perspective.

The value of Mommsen's contributions to learning is everywhere recognized. Difficult it is, however, even when his bibliography of more than 1,500 titles has been analyzed, to comprehend the volume of his mental output, though the fullest account be made of the long period of sixty years of labor allotted to him after he took his degree. When a student in college I was fascinated by his *Roman History*, though even then I mistrusted the soundness of many of his conclusions. Later I worked through his *Unteritalische Dialekte* and thought I discovered that Mommsen was first and foremost a philologist, a historian only by accident. Later still, having occasion to attack his *Roman Coinage*, I was astonished at his range of vision and certainty of touch in dealing with so difficult material. Finally the course of my studies took me, not only to the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions, but also to the legal and historical texts which he edited, to special articles in the journals and his *Römische Forschungen*, and his monumental works on public law. My sense of deep indebtedness to him is, I believe, shared by every working student of my age in the Latin field, no matter whether his special interests lie along literary or institutional lines; there is not an epoch of Roman literature or life to the illumination of which Mommsen did not contribute.

Nevertheless it may freely be conceded that Mommsen created no new department, that in all the range of his writings one will search in vain for the elaboration of a single thesis which can fairly be termed epoch-making. The fact is that when his contributions began, the pioneering in the classical field, as also in a large group of natural sciences, had been done. When, just before Mommsen's time, F. A. Wolf was delimiting and dividing the field of classical philology as a scientific whole, the botanist Antoine Laurent de Jussieu, dissatisfied with the classification proposed by Linnaeus, was developing the system of botanical nomenclature which forms the basis of that used generally today. Baron Cuvier, the founder of comparative anatomy, finished his *Anatomie comparée* in 1805. About the same time Dalton worked out his doctrine of the atom, which made possible the development of a science of chemistry, and which, reinforced later by the law of the conservation of energy, became the foundation stone of a new physics. In the same period the *Mécanique céleste* of Laplace, which has profoundly influenced the progress of mathematical astronomy, was in course of publication; and the great reflecting telescope of Sir William Herschel, mounted in 1789, was subjecting the heavenly bodies to a closer scrutiny than had previously been possible. As the origin of classical philology was only a phase of a general reaction, so its development formed a part of a larger scientific movement along constructive lines.<sup>1</sup>

In this movement Mommsen was a foremost leader. As great immediate predecessors he had, in law, Savigny; in Roman history, Niebuhr; in linguistics, Bopp and Jacob Grimm; in epigraphy, Borghesi and August Boeckh; in numismatics, Eckhel and Borghesi; and in the handling of texts, Karl Lachmann. Mommsen's singular merit lay in this, that in every department in which he worked, by the thoroughgoing accumulation of material and the use now of critical, now of constructive methods, he lifted knowledge to a higher plane with respect to both soundness of content and completeness of statement; his control of the most diverse sources made it possible for him always to do the part in the light of the whole.

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Philology*, III (1908), 375.

The fruitfulness of Mommsen's long career as an investigator may chiefly be ascribed, I think, to the union of three elements rarely united in the same person: constructive imagination, which enabled him, not only to correlate things seemingly unrelated to the average mind, but to visualize with remarkable clearness; organizing power, which made it possible for him patiently to amass, then set in order and utilize, an almost infinite sum and variety of data, and also utilize to the best advantage the co-operation of others; and finally, a capacity for hard work to which a parallel could not easily be found. That he was rapid in his mental processes and quick with the pen we know from the amount of manuscript which, year in year out, he made ready for the printer, and from the fact that he never had a secretary; he did everything himself. It is said that after he went to Berlin he worked regularly until two o'clock in the morning, and arose sufficiently early to catch the car at Charlottenburg in time to reach the University at eight o'clock.

Even with such a mental equipment and capacity for toil Mommsen could hardly have compassed a life-work measuring so far beyond ordinary human limitations if he had not been exceptionally fortunate in his domestic life. From the time of their marriage, in 1854, Frau Mommsen, daughter of the publisher Reimer, with an intelligence equaled only by her devotion, planned and toiled to create for him an environment most favorable for his work. We may guess that the comfortable house in Charlottenburg where they lived was a part of her dower. Here with increasing solicitude, as the years went by, she looked after the famous scholar, striving by forethought to anticipate his wants, and by watchfulness to counteract the effects of his absent-mindedness, which constantly threatened his health through the neglect of precautions in the matter of dress. She was a model mother too in the rearing of a large family of children, of whom twelve, six sons and six daughters, survived him.

But even before Mommsen had reached a great age his forgetfulness extended to matters more serious than dress. At the age of sixty-three he lost a part of his invaluable working library at Charlottenburg by fire; oral tradition has it that, standing on a stepladder, he pulled a large volume from an upper shelf, set the

lighted candle in its place, and began to read. Popular subscription restored, so far as possible, the volumes that were destroyed.

In another instance his forgetfulness turned out to the advantage of an American university. When Mommsen was preparing the manuscript of the tenth volume of the *Corpus* of Latin inscriptions, he copied a number of inscriptions that had been collected by De Criscio, the scholarly parish priest of Pozzuoli, the ancient Puteoli. He promised to send to De Criscio a copy of the published work, but the volume never came. In consequence De Criscio afterward refused to allow any German scholar to see either these inscriptions or others which he had collected. When, however, Walter Dennison, one of the first American students to be appointed to a fellowship in Rome, went to Pozzuoli, De Criscio readily gave him permission to study the stones;<sup>1</sup> thus was established that pleasant relationship which made it possible to bring to the University of Michigan the collection of De Criscio while he was still living, and so it has come about that this university possesses upward of 150 of the original stones which Mommsen copied and published.

At the time of his death Mommsen was the most widely known scholar in the world, at least in humanistic lines. This reputation far beyond the pale of his technical studies we may attribute to three things: the vogue of his *Roman History*, which became a popular work in the best sense; his participation in political discussion, with keen observations upon both national and international affairs, which attracted world-wide attention; and the picturesqueness of his appearance as an old man, which endeared him to the people of Berlin and made him much talked about everywhere. And yet, in the future the *Roman History* will be relatively unimportant among the items on which the final estimate of his work by scholars will rest. Brilliant as it is in point of style, stimulating and clarifying as the work will continue to remain, in the latter part, where it deals with the decline of the Roman Republic, it is vitiated by the adoption of a viewpoint established in the light of German political conditions in the early fifties of the nineteenth century; and this viewpoint is supported by untenable

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Archaeology* (1898), pp. 373 ff.

interpretations of the characters of Caesar, Cicero, and Pompey, which Mommsen, oddly enough, took over in the main from the studies of the unimaginative Drumann.

As a broad-minded patriot Mommsen in his earlier years yearned for the unification of Germany under a constitutional monarchy such as that of England. In later life elected to the Prussian Reichstag on a Liberal platform, he opposed the drastic measures of Bismarck with such directness of speech that Bismarck sued him for libel. He made his own defense and was acquitted, retiring afterward from active participation in politics. This is not the place to discuss at length the attitude of Mommsen either toward the problems of German politics or toward our problem at the time of the Civil War, when he ardently sided with the North; toward England at the time of the Boer War, when he strongly criticized her course;<sup>1</sup> or toward us again, at the time of the Spanish War, when, as we are told by Andrew D. White,<sup>2</sup> the vehemence of his criticism of the United States led to temporary coolness between the American ambassador and the distinguished scholar.

On the whole, we cannot justly charge Mommsen with inconsistency in his political life. If, however, he had spent as many years in England as he spent in Italy he would surely have gained a clearer understanding of the workings of that type of government which he so much admired, and both the viewpoint of his *Roman History* and his later judgments of international affairs must have been quite different. By temperament a partisan, warm in his affections and strong in his antagonisms, in politics as in scholarship he nevertheless strove to maintain an attitude of reasonableness and an open mind; he was large-hearted and sincere.

In a generation of notable scholars Theodore Mommsen was the most notable. Upon a temperament as sensitive as that of an artist were superimposed, as it were, prodigious intellectual power and a restless, inexhaustible energy. Mommsen had also the gift of friendship, richly imparted to a close circle. In the amount of intellectual product put forth in written form he probably surpassed any other scholar of either ancient or modern times.

<sup>1</sup> Sidney Whitman, *Contemporary Review*, LXXXIV (1903), 866 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Autobiography*, II, 177-78.



## THE DISOBEDIENCE OF CLEARCHUS AT CUNAXA

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Clearchus has frequently been held responsible for the disastrous outcome of the Battle of Cunaxa, in which the victory of the Greeks was rendered nugatory by the death of Cyrus, which is ascribed more or less directly to the failure of Clearchus to obey the orders of his superior. Plutarch<sup>1</sup> says that he spoiled everything. Grote says,<sup>2</sup> "From fear of being attacked on the unshielded side he was induced here to commit the capital mistake of keeping on the right flank." The Goodwin and White edition of the *Anabasis* decries his extreme caution.<sup>3</sup> The Mather and Hewitt edition is especially severe upon him. The disobedience of Clearchus is held to have left Cyrus and his bodyguard to contend unsupported against overwhelming odds.<sup>4</sup> His conduct is criticized, though part of the blame for the crucial fact, the death of Cyrus, is ascribed to the inexcusable rashness of Cyrus himself.<sup>5</sup>

On the other side I find only a casual remark in Harper and Wallace,<sup>6</sup> to the effect that we do not know how serious might have been the results if Clearchus had obeyed orders. A careful perusal of Colonel Boucher's study of the *Anabasis*,<sup>7</sup> supplemented by some little independent investigation and reflection, has convinced me that Clearchus should have a new trial. In view of my participation in the Mather-Hewitt edition of the *Anabasis* the present paper is a sort of palinode. In it I shall try to determine, so far as a somewhat unsophisticated civilian may, whether such a move as that directed by Cyrus was wise or even feasible.

To this end it is important to determine first of all the absolute lengths of the two battle lines; the relative lengths we know

<sup>1</sup> *Arlaxerxes* 8.

<sup>4</sup> P. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Greece*, IX, 44.

<sup>5</sup> P. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Note on i. 8. 13, p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> P. 402.

<sup>7</sup> Colonel Arthur Boucher, *L'Anabase de Xenophon*, Paris, 1913.

approximately.<sup>1</sup> Exactness is probably not obtainable, but I shall set forth certain considerations which point to a line considerably longer than is usually estimated. Goodwin and White think that Cyrus' front must have been more than a mile,<sup>2</sup> and that of the king, accordingly, well over two miles.

In the determination of this question the first point is the depth of the Greek phalanx. Normally it was eight men,<sup>3</sup> though this number was freely varied on occasion.<sup>4</sup> Here the circumstances called for a long, thin line to avoid being hopelessly outflanked. Cyrus seems to have reasoned that a line four deep, for the sort of a battle he expected to fight, would be as effective as a line eight deep. Of course it could not stand the enemy's shock, but neither could a line eight deep. If the heavy Persian phalanx, perhaps one hundred deep, struck the Greeks it would sweep away a line of eight as easily as one of four.<sup>5</sup> The Greek line was to deliver, not to sustain, the attack. But would such a line be sufficiently impressive to intimidate its opponents and turn them to flight? A great deal depended on this, and Cyrus made an experiment in the early days of the march which convinced him that a line of Greeks four deep was solid enough and looked sufficiently businesslike to rout a Persian phalanx. Cyrus was naturally much pleased<sup>6</sup> with the result, for it meant a precious mile added to his front on the great day.

Now the Greek force was composed of 10,400 hoplites, 2,500 peltasts,<sup>7</sup> and was supported on its right by 1,000 Paphlagonian

<sup>1</sup> i. 8. 13. The king's line was somewhat, we do not know how much, more than twice the length of that of Cyrus.

<sup>2</sup> P. xlviii.

<sup>3</sup> Bauer, *Kriegsaltertümer*, p. 328. For the Athenian phalanx, see Thucydides iv. 94. 1. Liddell and Scott, s.v. *φάλαγξ*, are scarcely justified on the basis of *Anab.* i. 2. 5 and *Hell.* iii. 4. 13 in declaring that the normal depth in Xenophon's time was four.

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. v. 68. Sometimes it was twelve deep. Xenophon *Hell.* vi. 4. 12; cf. ii. 4. 34. For ordinary purposes, a line four deep, says Arrian *Tact.* 5. 6, speaking of the Macedonian phalanx, was not deep enough. But the Macedonian phalanx was usually deeper than the Spartan; cf. 5. 5 and 9. 6.

<sup>5</sup> At Leuctra the Theban phalanx of fifty deep crushed the Spartan line of twelve deep (Xenophon *Hell.* vi. 4. 12).

<sup>6</sup> i. 2. 18.

<sup>7</sup> i. 7. 10.

cavalry. The hoplite front would be 2,600 men. For attack in close order the men of a Greek phalanx occupied each about a yard of front.<sup>1</sup> This would give for the hoplites a front of nearly one and a half miles. The peltasts need not have stood so closely nor need they have been drawn up four deep. Goodwin and White, who estimate the whole front of Cyrus at a little over a mile, point out that it is a fair inference from i. 10. 7 that they were in line, i.e., single line.<sup>2</sup> This would by itself be scarcely less than 2,500 yards or about one and two-fifths miles.<sup>3</sup> But supposing them drawn up four deep, their front would still be 625 men and would occupy at least one-third mile. How much space was occupied by the 1,000 Paphlagonian cavalry cannot be accurately determined. Let us suppose that this cavalry was drawn up four deep<sup>4</sup> and that it was to attack in waves; it would occupy a front of one-fourth mile.<sup>5</sup> Then there were 100,000 Persian troops. The depth of these we do not know, but even if they stood 100 deep they occupied a front of one-half mile. This distance, like that assigned to the Greek peltasts is, it seems to me, an irreducible minimum, for it would seem that Cyrus should have drawn up his Persians in a thinner line in order to present a front as long as possible. The total length of Cyrus' line aggregated about two and one-half miles and may have been longer. This was less than half the king's front, which consequently had a minimum length of five miles.

The royal forces were drawn up in the traditional Persian formation of solid squares, of what depth we are not informed. Grote calculates that the depth of the Persian phalanx at Issus was from sixteen to twenty-six.<sup>6</sup> Rawlinson estimates the depth at Marathon at sixteen.<sup>7</sup> Xenophon<sup>8</sup> states that Amasis sent Croesus a body of

<sup>1</sup> Arrian *Tact.* 12. 6. But see Boucher, *op. cit.*, p. 69b, note.

<sup>2</sup> P. xlviii.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>3</sup> They may have spread themselves over part of the gap left by the charging hoplites.

<sup>4</sup> Xenophon *Hell.* iii. 4. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Boucher (*op. cit.*, p. 69b) supposes them twelve deep, and estimates their front at 100 meters.

<sup>6</sup> *History of Greece* XII, 119, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Seven Ancient Monarchies* ii, 629, n. 112.

<sup>8</sup> *Cyropedia* vi. 2. 10. Rawlinson states (*Herodotus* ii. 325) that these were formed in phalanxes of 10,000 men. These, if true squares, would have 100 men on a side.

120,000 troops, and Rawlinson thinks that here we have the origin of the phalanx arrangement afterward adopted in other armies. It seems reasonable to assume for the king's army and for the Persians of Cyrus a maximum depth of 100 men. Further than this it seems fantastic to go. I cannot think with Goodwin and White<sup>1</sup> that the king's squares must have had an average depth of 185 men. I find no authority whatever for such an excessive depth, and it was perhaps motivated only by the necessity of getting a Persian line that should be not much more than the inadequate mile or so allotted to Cyrus' line.

The number of the Persian forces is given very differently by our authorities. Xenophon<sup>2</sup> tells us that the number engaged on the king's side was 900,000. Ctesias,<sup>3</sup> the court physician, says that the king had only 400,000. To bridge this vast discrepancy we must remember that while Xenophon recognizes and allows for the fact that the contingent of Abrocomas was not engaged he takes no account of the incompleteness of the contingents that were engaged. For example, the contingent led by the king's bastard brother (*στρατιάν πολλήν*)<sup>4</sup> may well have been included in the 900,000, and there were doubtless others which arrived too late for the battle. On the other hand it was Ctesias' cue to minimize the number of the king's forces as much as possible to lessen the disgrace of the defeat. Boucher thinks the number may well have been as high as 700,000.<sup>5</sup> Our estimate of the Greek front led us to the conclusion that the Persian line must have stretched over some five miles. Supposing each man had three feet of front and that the lines had a uniform depth of 100 men, the number necessary to fill this space would be 968,000, which is not far from the number given by Xenophon. But it is unlikely that all arms of the service assumed the same formation. Cavalry, light-armed forces, and incomplete phalanxes of infantry may well have had less depth than the 100 men which I have assumed as the maximum.

The king probably knew the battle array of his brother's forces. Cyrus had rehearsed it some days previously<sup>6</sup> and had in fact

<sup>1</sup> P. xlviii, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Anab.* ii. 4. 25.

<sup>2</sup> i. 7. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Boucher, *op. cit.*, p. 61a.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch *Artax.* 13.

<sup>6</sup> i. 7. 1.

marched for one day with his army drawn up in full array.<sup>1</sup> It would be easy for one of the royal spies in Cyrus' Persian force or for some scout to convey to the king the valuable information. At any rate Artaxerxes had so disposed his forces as to balance the strong places in the opposing army. He had put Tissaphernes, his most efficient general, in command of the only part of his line which Cyrus could muster soldiers enough to oppose. If Artaxerxes had been allowed to select the Greeks' position he could scarcely have put them where they could do him less harm than at the place where they were actually stationed.<sup>2</sup> The fate of the Persian center, where the king was, would decide the day, and not even the barbarian force of Cyrus extended so far as to front this. Cyrus must have known in what part of his army the king would be. Xenophon seems to be right when he says that the usual position of a Persian commander was at the center of his forces, though we know that there were exceptions to this rule.<sup>3</sup> Cyrus should have put his Greeks opposite the king, for there the best forces of the Persians would surely be. Only his best could defeat them, but if these choice troops were once beaten he might count the day his.

He tried, when it was too late, to remedy his error by his famous order to Clearchus. This was a command to attack the king's center with his own troops. Clearchus on the right wing held the position of honor, but we are not told that he was commander-in-chief of the Greek force. Yet this order probably referred, not to his division only, but to the whole Greek hoplite force. Even then such a maneuver not only ran counter to all the rules of Greek tactics, but was against the dictates of common prudence. I am

<sup>1</sup> i. 7. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Artax.* 8. Plutarch uses this as an argument to blame Clearchus, assuming that it was he who was responsible for the position of the Greeks. He was responsible rather for their not changing their position. The original error of putting them next the river must be laid at the door of the commander-in-chief. No hint to the contrary is given by Xenophon.

<sup>3</sup> i. 8. 22 f.; cf. Arrian *Anab.* ii. 8. 11 of Darius at Issus, and Xenophon, *Cyr.* viii. 5. 8 of the central position of Cyrus the Great in his camp. As the king was at the center of the Persians, so the Persians were at the center of the conglomerate of nations that formed their army. At Marathon they had the center of the line (Herod. vi. 113). But at Plataea the Persians were on the left wing facing the best troops of the Greeks. This arrangement, however, was suggested to them by the Thebans (Herod. ix. 31).



inclined to think that it was a practical, if not an absolute, impossibility.

Let us see what this move involved. The arrangement of the forces is sketchily portrayed in Fig. 1, thus:

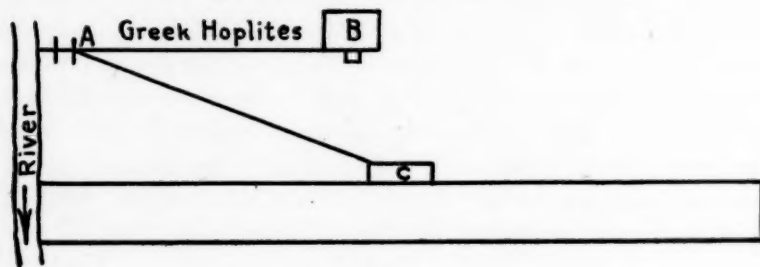


FIG. 1

A is to attack C. How far apart are the lines? On this depends of course the acuteness of the angle at which the Greeks would have to attack. At the time the attack was delivered they were about two-fifths of a mile apart.<sup>1</sup> I have drawn the two lines about twice that distance apart to meet the objection that there must have been more than two-fifths of a mile between them at the time Cyrus gave the order. We must remember on the other hand that we have to consider the conditions, not at the moment when the order was issued, but at the first moment at which it could be put into execution. Obviously the Greeks could not charge until Cyrus went back to his station, and we are not told that anything but his return happened in the interim, which can scarcely have been more than fifteen minutes. During this time the space between the lines would diminish only slowly. Such a mass as that of the Persians could not advance faster than two miles an hour. The Greeks were not advancing at all, for their lines were still forming.<sup>2</sup> They seem to have attacked as soon as they were ready. In fifteen minutes the gap between the forces would lessen from four-fifths to two-fifths of a mile. The sketch then represents the path of the attack, assuming that the order was given fifteen

<sup>1</sup> i. 8. 17. A Greek phalanx regularly delivered its attack from a very short distance. See Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> i. 8. 14.

minutes before the charge was made and that Clearchus could have put it into effect as soon as he received it. In point of fact, however, I cannot conceive how Clearchus could have issued orders for such a maneuver, for which, in view of its difficulty and strangeness, there could have been no such simple signal as a blast on the trumpet, in less than a quarter of an hour. The order must certainly have gone the length of the line, passed from man to man, and been repeated back to Clearchus to insure its correctness. This would take time, especially as Clearchus was not at the center of the Greek troops but considerably to the right of the center. For these reasons I think that the angle of attack should be drawn much more acute than I have made it.

To return to our problem: A is to attack C. There is evidently more than one way in which this can be done. I showed the problem to a West Point graduate, now a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army. His first suggestion was that A go around behind B and deliver a frontal attack on C. But this would take too long, it would leave a bad gap in Cyrus' line, and it does not fill the conditions of the narrative. Clearchus feared for his flanks;<sup>1</sup> such a move would have imperiled rather his rear.

My informant next suggested that A would march in column of squads across the front of B and then deliver his attack directly upon C. But this would mask and render useless the 100,000 men of the Persian force and would present no obstacle to an encircling movement on the part of Tissaphernes.

So we are driven to the third possibility, which is the one that is usually assumed to have been adopted—an oblique movement of A in a straight line upon C. Such a movement must be possible enough at certain angles. But made at such an angle as that shown in our sketch—and I think it would be necessary to advance at an angle considerably more acute than that—it would be full of peril. The right, or unshielded, flank of the attacking party would be exposed to the slings and bows of the Persians for a considerable distance and increasingly to weapons of shorter range as its oblique course brought it near the Persian lines. This, if the Persian left remained where it was; but if Tissaphernes should use

<sup>1</sup>i. 8. 13.

a portion of it to attack the Greek flank, he would put it in a very dangerous position.

Add to this the fact that the Greeks who were nearest the river would have to charge, not two-fifths of a mile, as they actually did, but about two miles, and that the length of their line was several times the width of the space in which they would have to perform this maneuver, and it is not strange that the idea seemed to Clearchus so utterly preposterous that he did not even enter a protest nor discuss the matter, but returned a reply, noncommittal in form, but calculated to leave no doubt in Cyrus' mind that the only thing to do was to adhere to the plan of operations upon which they had previously decided. Someone has suggested that he intended Cyrus to think that his orders would be obeyed. This I cannot believe. Nothing in the subsequent conduct of the battle shows Cyrus in an embarrassing position because he did not know the intentions of Clearchus. If Clearchus did not intend to obey—and it is clear that he did not so intend—he had absolutely nothing to gain by leaving his chief in ignorance of his intentions. True, he did not refuse. But a gesture would have made his position clear, even if we can think that Cyrus himself did not realize that at that stage there was absolutely no chance to change the plan of the battle. He was lucky, marching as he did, to get most of his forces into line before the king attacked. Can it be believed that he seriously intended at the last minute to make a change which it must have taken many precious minutes even to communicate to his troops? If, as might be objected, these were the original orders of Cyrus, reiterated at the last minute and disobeyed because his subordinate lost his nerve and lacked the courage to carry into execution an apparently perilous move, why did Cyrus station the Greeks where it would be so perilous to hurl them against the king? Why did he not align them opposite the king?

It looks to me like a serious blunder on the part of Cyrus. But of course Cyrus was no fool. How are we to account for such a miscalculation? The excitement of a moment upon which hung such momentous issues for him would explain his giving an impossible or unreasonable order. But how is it possible to explain the miscalculation which made such an order seem to him necessary?

The answer that seems to me to explain the facts best is that Cyrus had greatly underestimated the completeness of the Persian mobilization. He had planned to be upon the king before the resources of the great empire could assemble to defend the capital.<sup>1</sup> The king had reason to fear that he would succeed in this attempt. Plutarch<sup>2</sup> tells us that Artaxerxes had determined to retire into the interior of his empire until his forces should be adequately mobilized. He would be much in the position of Joffre in the late summer of 1914, giving up the north of France and retiring to previously determined positions rather than stake everything upon a premature engagement. The profound moral effect of a military disaster in the early days of a campaign is well known. Not that he made no provision for a first line of defense. He dug an elaborate ditch across Cyrus' path more than two days' march from the capital and left it in such a condition of completeness that two hours' work would connect it with the river and fill it with water. It was not an ideal defense against an army that was not afraid of close fighting, but with half his normal forces the king would do better to defend a thirty-foot ditch, either empty or full of water, than to meet his foe in the open plain. On the other hand, when the king's mobilization had reached an advanced stage it would never do to meet Cyrus at such an obstacle. The Persian tactics aimed to crush a foe by superior force or envelop him by outflanking. For this purpose a wide plain would be selected. It would be good policy to let the enemy pass unopposed a ditch which would prove a serious obstacle if he were obliged to flee. Plutarch ascribes the king's resolution to fight his foe to the advice of Tiribazus, who represented to him the inadvisability of avoiding an engagement (*φυγομαχεῖν*). This means, not that Tiribazus was reproving the general policy of strategic retreat, but that he, perhaps sooner than the king, had come to realize that changed conditions made it no longer necessary.

The king had apparently been given more time than he feared he would have to mobilize his forces. Cyrus was clearly very much longer than he had calculated in reaching the vicinity of Babylon. His journey occupied six months, of which three only

<sup>1</sup> i. 5. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Artax.* 7.

were consumed in marching and at least two in unforeseen and, under ordinary circumstances, avoidable delays. Allowing him the other month for necessary or anticipated stops, we find him approaching Babylon two months behind his schedule. He had taken half as long again as he, and doubtless the king, had estimated.

Let us now suppose that he had arrived two months earlier and that the king had had, say, 350,000 men in line, which is about what Ctesias says he actually did have. On the principle of arrangement already worked out, the relative length of the lines would have been as shown in Fig. 2, which would put the Greeks, A—A, in a position to strike effectively at the Persian center, C.

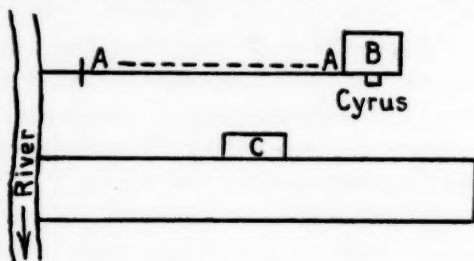


FIG. 2

But Cyrus was perfectly well aware that he was two months late, and he might have remodeled his arrangement to suit the altered conditions. Why he did not is hard to explain. Hoping against hope that his delays would not give the king an overwhelming margin of superiority, a man of Cyrus' sanguine and optimistic temper may possibly have succeeded in closing his eyes to the inevitable. That at a comparatively late period of the march, at a time when his most serious delays had already been suffered, Cyrus was still banking on slow mobilization on the part of the king is evident from Xenophon's remark<sup>1</sup> that the weakness of the Persian Empire was due to the length of the roads and the scattered condition of its forces. This must have mirrored the common talk among the Greek generals and probably the opinion of the commander-in-chief.

After passing the abandoned trench Cyrus became convinced that the king would not fight him. This conviction seemed to render it unnecessary for him to change his plan of battle, although

<sup>1</sup> i. 5. 9.



since the midnight rehearsal of his formation he had received information relative to the numbers of the opposing army. When the king's approach suddenly became imminent there was no longer any time for change of plan. His forces, strung out over perhaps ten miles of road, barely got into battle line before the charge was delivered. As the lines faced each other Cyrus saw that his Greeks were far away from the point where he wanted them. Either his "order" to Clearchus was a desperate attempt to make a change when it was too late, or was really more of a query than a command: "Can't you lead," etc. Xenophon, a veritable hero-worshiper, admired Cyrus and makes no comments derogatory to him. He lays no blame on Clearchus either. But among all his eulogies of Cyrus he never commends him for good military judgment; and we can see in the mad rush to kill Artaxerxes that Cyrus was likely to lose control of himself at a critical juncture.

At any rate Clearchus adhered to the original plan which had probably been discussed and adopted in council of war between Cyrus and the Greek generals. His strategy was conservative and it was successful. He broke the Persian left and pursued it. For this he has been criticized, as in the Mather-Hewitt *Anabasis*,<sup>1</sup> in words penned by Mather but with which Hewitt fully agreed: "He foolishly pursued, thus withdrawing the best part of Cyrus' army from the conflict while he left the king's center and right free to surround Cyrus' native force." To break through an enemy's force and get in his rear or fold back his line is not withdrawing from the conflict the division that performs such an extremely useful exploit, especially if it is a rapidly moving force, while that which hypothetically could surround Cyrus' native troops was a very cumbrous and slowly moving arm. In fact, a Persian line usually melted away when any portion of it was pierced. How far toward the Persian right the panic extended we have no means of knowing, but it is clear that it would extend considerably beyond that portion of the line directly affected by the Greek attack. It may have reached well toward the center and would be constantly and rapidly extending farther. Clearchus after breaking the enemy line would naturally tend to his left to fold that line back upon its own rear.

<sup>1</sup> P. 16.

How important the Greek success was felt to be is evident from the prompt and risky measure Artaxerxes employed to counter it. The Persian force of Cyrus had not charged with the Greeks. This left the Greek left flank unprotected, or "in the air." The king decided to attack it in the brief period between the inception of its charge and its coming in contact with its foe. It is usually said that he struck with his whole right, but that would have taken a very long time, and minutes were precious. Such a quick thrust could best be delivered with his 6,000 choice cavalry. To be sure, this would expose the right of that cavalry, but the masses of Cyrus' Persian infantry could not attack it, and Artaxerxes may have hoped that Cyrus' 600 cavalry would consider the odds of ten to one too great. But Cyrus, seeing the beginning of this maneuver, realized that the Greek flank and rear were in the utmost peril.<sup>1</sup> To parry the king's quick thrust, one equally quick was necessary. Cyrus and his 600 charged the royal horse and put them to flight,<sup>2</sup> but his lack of judgment and his consequent death turned a glorious victory into a dismal defeat.

Ariaeus and his Persians fled through their own camp to their camp of the previous night. Apparently the 6,000 cavalry now rallied and pursued them, for their losses were heavy<sup>3</sup> and Ariaeus himself was wounded.<sup>4</sup> The pursuit seems to have ended at the day camp, which the Persians stopped to plunder.

On the Persian left the Greek success had not been complete. One portion, under the direct command of Tissaphernes, had not fled when the Greeks broke through. This was probably a body of cavalry stationed near the river. With this Tissaphernes charged the Greek peltasts and broke through them. Xenophon says that they let him through,<sup>5</sup> inflicting some loss upon him as he passed, while themselves suffering no casualties, and he remarks that Episthenes, their commander, showed himself a sensible man.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Anab.* i. 8. 24. If the whole Persian right were attacking, it would be for himself and his Persians that he would have to fear. Of course the right wing might have begun an enveloping movement at the same time.

<sup>2</sup> i. 8. 24.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 2. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus xiv. 26. 6 puts them at 3,000.

<sup>5</sup> *διασάφεις* i. 10. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι, i.e., I take it, in making no attempt to resist an irresistible attack, and so conducting himself as to receive no harm and inflict some injury on his opponent.

But it is a curious business and can scarcely have been as creditable to the Greeks as our author describes it. At any rate Tissaphernes attained his objective: First, he broke the Greek line. Or rather, it seems to me, he merely went through the vast gap left in it by the absence of the Greek hoplites, the peltasts simply setting their backs toward the river and discharging their weapons at him in a more or less desultory manner as he passed by. Secondly, he effected a junction with the king in the camp of Cyrus. This ended the first phase of the battle. The Greek hoplites were pursuing a disorganized rout of Persian infantry. Four miles to their rear their camp was held by the cavalry of the enemy.

What had become of the Persian right and center? Had it shared in the general rout of the left, or was it still on the battlefield? On this point Xenophon is strangely reticent and consequently obscure. A calculation of the time allotted to the battle, coupled with a true estimate of the slow and cumbrous movement of a Persian phalanx, makes it evident that they cannot have shared in the pursuit of Cyrus' Persians and the plundering of their camp. They may have remained on the field<sup>1</sup> and may have been picked up by the cavalry on its return from Cyrus' camp. To this point I may have opportunity to return on some future occasion.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently from Plutarch's account (*Artax.* 13) a goodly number rallied around the wounded king when the death of Cyrus was reported. The speed and completeness of their rally would be a resultant of two factors, the spreading panic due to the success of the Greek attack and the spreading confidence as the fact of Cyrus' death became known.

## ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1917

BY GEORGE H. CHASE  
Harvard University

The meagerness of news from Greece, to which I referred in my last report, has been more marked than ever during the past year. Apparently war conditions have brought about an almost complete cessation of archaeological activities, at least so far as excavations are concerned. One suspects that the Greek Society may have continued some of its enterprises, but no reports, so far as I know, have reached this country. For the foreign schools, at all events, the year 1917 was simply a period of "carrying on," of keeping the machinery in order in preparation for the return of normal conditions.

At the American School, only the Director, the Secretary, and the Architect were in residence. Mr. Hill and Mr. Blegen visited Corinth, but only to arrange for the expropriation or the lease of additional land for later excavation, or to study what had been found in earlier years. Mr. Blegen devoted a considerable amount of time to the preparation of complete reports on the architectural remains at Korako<sup>1</sup> and on the early pottery discovered on all the prehistoric sites explored in 1916. In collaboration with Mr. Wace, of the British School, he also prepared an article on prehistoric pottery in Greece, which is to be published in the *Annual* of the British School. Mr. Hill continued his work on the Erechtheum. He reports that some new fragments of the frieze have been identified and that a little further excavation was undertaken near the building itself in an attempt to clear up disputed points. Mr. Dinsmoor succeeded in bringing his study of the Propylaea and the other monuments of the western slope of the Acropolis nearly to completion, but the publication of this work, as well as that of the long-awaited book on the Erechtheum, cannot be expected until the war is ended.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Classical Journal*, XIII, 188.

The French School in Athens remained closed from December, 1916, to August, 1917. Then Mr. Fougères, the Director, returned to Athens, and with him four men took up their residence in the School building. According to the official report, they were "appointed interpreter-officers in the Army of the East, placed under the orders of Gen. Braquet, and allowed to work in the School." Under these circumstances, naturally, no excavations could be undertaken.

This is all the "news" from Greece that I have been able to gather. Since it is so little, it may, perhaps, be permissible to supplement the reference which I made in last year's report to discoveries in the neighborhood of Salonica by a fuller account, based on an interesting letter of Professor Ernest Gardner in the literary supplement of the *London Times* for March 28, 1918. Soon after the Allied forces occupied Salonica, a general order was issued that any discovery of antiquities in the trenches or elsewhere should be reported to headquarters. The British authorities established a provisional museum in the famous White Tower, which was placed at their disposal by the Greek government. The French began the formation of another collection in a temporary building. What has been discovered has been found for the most part by chance, though systematic excavations have been made at a few places, mostly by French archaeologists. Attention has been directed especially to the mounds which are found in large numbers in Macedonia, but which have never been much investigated. Two types can be distinguished—regular conical tumuli and mounds of irregular, but usually oval, plan. Of these the tumuli are of a familiar type, namely, heaps of earth piled up over a tomb, which is usually a built tomb of stone or marble. Those that have been examined are mostly of Hellenistic date, though some may be earlier.

The irregular mounds are in some ways more interesting. They are the remains of early settlements, and when carefully explored reveal the stratified remains of successive villages. Hearths and stone floors mark the position of separate dwellings, sometimes with empty sockets which once were filled by wooden beams to support the roofs and which still show the impress of bark or the grain of



the wood. The superstructures were apparently made of unbaked clay and rushes. Burnt layers suggest that the settlements were frequently destroyed by fire; in other cases the houses probably were rendered uninhabitable by storms and simply disintegrated. When a settlement fell into ruin, the top of the mound was leveled and a new settlement begun. Thus the mounds, which at first were comparatively low, rose gradually to a considerable height, sometimes as much as forty or fifty feet above the level of the plain. When the gradual raising of the level reduced the habitable area on top of a mound, a new settlement seems to have been begun on another rise nearby; at least, it is noticeable that in several cases a small, steep mound and a lower, flat one are found side by side, and in such cases the pottery found on the lower mound is later in date than that in the steeper and smaller one. In several instances, the change appears from the pottery to have taken place in the sixth or the fifth century, B.C. Thus a lower limit is arrived at for the date of the older mounds, and an upper limit for that of the later ones. The period when the older mounds were begun is harder to fix, but the beginning of the third millenium is suggested by the pottery, which is similar to early Thessalian wares of about 3000 B.C. Moreover, fragments of ordinary Mycenaean vases of about 1400-1200 B.C. often appear in the upper strata of the older mounds.

In general, the Thessalian pottery is clearly of local manufacture. It has certain similarities to the early Thessalian fabrics, but shows little similarity to any of the styles that prevailed in the Aegean area between 3000 and 1200 B.C. It is handmade, and in the earliest strata is decorated with strips of clay or incised patterns. The scheme of the decoration is usually geometric, although large spirals are common. Later, painted decoration in dull pigments appears. From very early times the pottery shows skilful workmanship; the texture is fine and delicate, and among the painted specimens some have almost the appearance of fine china, with red designs on a creamy white surface. These early wares are succeeded by rougher and coarser fabrics, which merge into a very ordinary type of pottery found in Macedonia down to historic times. Indeed there seems to be a steady deterioration in handi-

craft in the latter part of the prehistoric period. The Mycenaean vases were clearly imported, and in general the evidence for communication with Greece or the Aegean area in prehistoric times is comparatively slight.

From later times the most important discovery is a series of tombs of the eighth or the seventh century, B.C. In these were iron weapons, gold and bronze ornaments, and a pottery lamp of Greek design, by means of which the whole series is dated. The most noteworthy point in connection with these tombs is that the decorative designs do not resemble those in vogue in Greece in the eighth and the seventh centuries, but are very similar to early Iron Age designs from Central Europe. Even in this period, therefore, Macedonia seems to have looked toward the north rather than toward the south.

From still later times, graves of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine date have been found, and from them considerable numbers of vases, terra cottas, coins, and other small objects have been brought together in the collections at Salonica. Among larger objects Professor Gardner mentions especially two Roman tomb reliefs, one of which represents a man and his wife, the other a family group; a draped female figure of excellent workmanship, dating from early Hellenistic times; and the inscription relating to Manius Salarius Saborius to which I referred last year. Altogether, the prospects for an interesting Macedonian Museum in Salonica seem bright.

Between this meager showing and the comparatively large amount of news from Italy the contrast once more is marked. In spite of the difficult living conditions brought about by the war and the great amount of time and energy that the Italians were obliged to devote to the protection of monuments exposed to danger by air-raids, most of the larger enterprises were carried forward and many chance finds were made.

In Rome the most remarkable event of the year was the discovery, near the Porta Maggiore, of a large vaulted hall of basilican type, some fourteen meters long and eight meters wide, with vestibule, apse, and three aisles divided by pillars. This was found as the result of a landslide under the roadbed of the Rome-Naples

railway, and was cleared with considerable difficulty, owing to the necessity of reinforcing the walls to prevent their collapse under the vibration caused by passing trains. The decoration is elaborate. Walls, vaulted ceilings, pilasters, and apse are all covered with well-preserved stucco reliefs, executed in a bold and rapid style. Among the subjects are mythological compositions (Apollo and Marsyas, the punishment of the Danaids, Hermes Psychopompus, Hercules and the Hesperids are mentioned), figures of *orantes*, sacrificial and ritual objects, and symbols of resurrection and after-life. All this suggests that the building was used by followers of some of the mystic cults which flourished in Imperial Rome, but as yet no good evidence as to the particular cult has appeared. In the main chamber all the decoration is in white stucco, but the vestibule has a dado of Pompeian red, adorned with bright figures of flowers and birds, and a ceiling decorated with squares of sapphire blue. Much of the mosaic flooring is preserved, but several rectangular spaces where the pavement is missing show that its finest portions, no doubt panels with figure compositions, were removed in the later days of antiquity. The date of the building is apparently the second century after Christ.

On the Via Appia, about a mile and a half outside the Porta San Sebastiano, the ancient ruins under the basilica of San Sebastiano were further explored. This spot is traditionally associated with the worship of Peter and Paul, either as the place of their residence or of their temporary burial. In earlier investigations here, columbaria and portions of Roman villas with excellent paintings were discovered. The more recent work in May and June, 1916, and in March, 1917, brought to light further columbaria and two more rooms of one of the houses. The mural decorations are described as among the finest examples yet known of Augustan and Claudio-Neronian painting. The only one of which I have seen a description represents a harbor with a long, pillared pier; boats are putting out to sea, and on the shore is a *fête champêtre* under an awning which is stretched between a great tree and a round tower. Under the nave of the basilica, a complicated building of the third century after Christ was found. This appears to have been a *triclia*, or place of refreshment for pilgrims, who, as

numerous inscriptions bear witness, came to visit this spot on account of its supposed connection with the two great apostles.

Inside the walls, also, several interesting discoveries were made. The excavations in the Golden House of Nero were continued, but the one brief and tantalizing account which I have seen barely mentions "a superb domed octagonal hall and a number of chambers with wall paintings that for freshness and beauty surpass anything yet found in Rome." In the eastern extension of the Piazza Colonna, where the Palazzo Piombino stood until 1889, a careful examination of the ground preparatory to building operations revealed, not the Porticus Vipsania, which had been generally supposed to be located there, but only a large group of insulae of Imperial date. Near the intersection of the Via Po and the Via Gregorio Allegri, the discovery of several tombs of the first century after Christ, with paintings and mosaics, is reported, and also remains of a large building connected with the tombs by a stairway of travertine. The building consisted of a portico, an atrium with mosaic pavement, and several side rooms. In the same excavations fragments of a fine Hellenistic relief, representing a four-horse chariot rising from the sea, with marine animals pushing it from behind and two young men making it fast to the shore, came to light.

Among the mooted questions of the year in Rome was a proposal to remove the Palazzo Caffarelli, which in recent years has been the home of the German embassy. The ostensible reason for the removal is to disengage the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, but political and sentimental considerations naturally played a great part in the discussions. As yet, so far as I have seen, no official decision as to the fate of the palace has been made. One of the interesting events of the year was the official opening, on April 21, 1917, of the Passeggiata Archeologica between the Caelian hill and the baths of Caracalla.

At Pompeii, work along the Via dell' Abbondanza was continued, but no remarkable discoveries were made. One of the houses exhibited a projecting balcony formed of blocks of stone held together by a wooden framework, which has been restored. Near by was a well-preserved *castellum aquae*, with its lead reservoir still in place.

At Ostia, further excavation north of the Via Decumana, between the theater and the Temple of Vulcan, revealed the ruins of a large rectangular forum divided into two parts by a central building, the whole considerably below the level of the city of Imperial times. In this neighborhood were found fragments of the local fasti, parts of a great inscription of which two portions, covering the years 19-21 and 91-92 A.D. were found at the beginning of the last century. The new portions cover the years 36-38 A.D. They give the names of the magistrates of Rome and of Ostia and record important events. Among the latter are fires in Rome in the Campus Martius and between the Circus Maximus and the Aventine; the death of Antonia and that of Drusilla; and, most interesting of all, the death of Tiberius at Misenum, on March 16, 37 A.D., the transport of his body to Rome (it was carried on the shoulders of the soldiers), and the funeral ceremonies.

The balcony of the Casa di Diana,<sup>1</sup> which was found to run the whole length of the house on the two sides toward the street, has been replaced, thus giving an excellent idea of the original appearance of this unique structure. Another house near by has a large hall measuring some 8 by 7 meters, with a well-preserved mosaic pavement and wall paintings. Among the latter is a remarkable series of portraits, chiefly of elderly, bearded men, probably philosophers or poets. One, which is unusual in that the subject is young and beardless, is thought possibly to be a portrait of Virgil, a suggestion to which a crown of laurel lends some support. Among the lesser finds may be noted one of the few Christian monuments found at Ostia, namely, a small column of cipollino, with a relief representing the Good Shepherd.

At Veii, where Dr. Colini has begun to carry out a systematic plan of excavation, the foundation of one of the gates of the acropolis was cleared and two strata of huts were found, the earlier apparently Italic, the later, Etruscan. The site of a temple, tentatively identified as a temple of Apollo, yielded many figures of terra cotta, which are said to be the most important archaic works yet discovered in Italy. Among them are a head of Hermes, several small heads of warriors, and especially a remarkable head of Apollo

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Classical Journal*, XII, 206.



with well-preserved color, which has all the qualities of fine archaic Greek work. The long, narrow eyes, elaborate hair, and carefully modeled drapery bring further proof of the Ionic influence which is notable in many archaic statues found in Etruria. These terracotta sculptures have been deposited in the Museo di Villa Giulia.

During the year the museum at Ancona was enriched by an archaic chariot found at Fabriano in Umbria, which is of the greatest interest. Unlike the famous chariot from Monteleone in the Metropolitan Museum and the later example in the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican, both of which seem made for ceremonial rather than military purposes, this new specimen was apparently intended for use in war, and so gives us our first example of a real war-chariot from Italy.

Finally, in spite of war conditions, the excavations at Cyrene were carried steadily forward, especially in the precinct of Apollo and on the site of the ancient agora. The most important single discovery that has been reported is a statue of Eros playing the lyre, the best example yet known of a type which is generally attributed to Lysippus.

## SURVIVAL OF TYPE

BY FRANCES JULIETTE HOSFORD  
Oberlin College

Once upon a time a German prince crossed the Rhine at the head of a band of fierce warriors. His name, as it comes down to us, bears the characteristic marks of Roman revamping, but we know him as Ariovistus. The invader made his way through Alsace toward the Great Gate of France—the Belfort Pass—as surely as if he had been trained in military topography. His political method was entirely modern. He began by fraternizing with the Sequanians, placed German garrisons at strategic points, took under his charge sundry judiciously selected hostages, and then proceeded to exact huge indemnities under pressure of frightfulness.

Then Caesar joined the Entente; this was a loose coalition of Gallic states, formed through fear of the German menace.

There were diplomatic messages and conversations, which have fortunately been preserved. True, we have only the Roman, not the German, chromatic codices, but Caesar was an excellent witness, a good observer, a master of lucid diction, with a lively interest in men and things as they really are, and a healthy contempt for camouflage. According to Caesar, Ariovistus pressed the *argumentum ad hominem* with resistless logic. The Romans had carved a new province out of their side of Gaul; why should not he do likewise with his end? Neither need interfere with the other, but both had a right to a place in the sun. He ended with a hint about the strength and virulence of the opposition to Caesar at Rome.

There was another German invasion almost two thousand years later, this time through the lowlands where dwell the people of whom Caesar wrote, "Fortissimi sunt Belgae." But the world had changed in two millennia; the incident of the "scrap of paper" was eagerly discussed in lands of which Caesar and Ariovistus had never dreamed; the taking of hostages and the deportation of populations for forced labor were, to both Caesar and Ariovistus, ordinary incidents of warfare, needing no more apology than a fortified camp. Among the busybodies of the new order

these things aroused an ever-increasing wave of horror and wrath, and this was naturally resented by the friends of the good old way. In August, 1916, a letter was written to the *New York Times* concerning the deportations from Lille. It bore a German signature, which we will call Schmidt. It affords a curious comparison with the reply of Ariovistus to the demand of Caesar that he surrender the Haeduan hostages. I subjoin the Caesarian text, and then, in parallel column, an English version and the letter of Schmidt. I have taken the liberty of imitating Mr. Schmidt's literary style; it is undoubtedly superior to the English often employed in the translation of the first book of the *Gallic War*, and is effective for comparison.

Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: "Jus esse belli ut qui vicissent eis quos vicissent, quem ad modum vellent imperarent. . . . Haeduos sibi quoniam belli fortunam temptassent et armis congressi ac superati essent stipendiarios esse factos. . . . Haeduos se obsides redditurum non esse neque his neque eorum sociis injuria bellum inlaturum si in eo manerent quod convenissent stipendiumque quotannis penderent; si id non fecissent, longe eis fraternum nomen populi Romani afuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denunciaret se Haeduorum injurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum vellet congredieretur; intellecturum quid invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIV tectum non subissent, virtute possent.—B.G. i. 36.

#### ARIOVISTUS DIXIT

War gives the conquerors the right to treat the conquered peoples as they think fit. . . . The Haeduans tried their luck at war and got licked, and had to pay an indemnity. . . . I shall not give the hostages back to the Haeduans, but I shall not fight them or their allies, provided they do the square thing—keep their promises, pay the indemnity, and do it every year. If they don't do that, the Roman junk about "brothers" won't alter their treatment one whit.

You talk big, Caesar, about the "wrongs" of the Haeduans, and how you won't fail to tend up to them. Nobody has fought me without getting licked. If you want some, you are at liberty to come on. The Germans can't be beaten; their military training is the best there is, and they have lived in camp for fourteen years; you'll find out what they can do.

#### SCHMIDT DIXIT

I would like to say that none of the neutrals will be able to alter the course of the German authorities in their treatment of peoples of the captured territories one whit. They control these territories and control them in every sense of the word. Whether or not the Allies like the way in which their people are being treated does not matter a bit. The Germans do as they think fit. . . .

If certain neutrals do not like the way in which we Germans do things they are at liberty to go over to Europe and try to stop them. Germany has been licking the Allies right and left, and if there are any more that would like to receive some of the same dose, very well, the greater will be the honor for the Fatherland when it has shown them their places and put them where they belong.

We need not teach our pupils to thank the Lord that the Anglo-Saxon is not as other Teutons are; fortunately and unfortunately, he is, at times, very much so. But we may well lead them to see that the world of Caesar and Ariovistus is the world of Foch and the Hohenzollerns. The average schoolboy has long regarded Caesar's story of the clash of Teuton and Latin as a super-desiccated ration, only preserved from sepulture because it is the medium of an especially poignant variety of indirect discourse. It is now possible to restore some of the original *vitamines*.

## FRIENDS OUTSIDE

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BY MIGNONETTE SPILLMAN  
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In our efforts to prove to the high-school student that he can and does use his Latin in everyday life, the exhibit illustrating Miss Sabin's "The Relation of Latin to Practical Life" has been our most valuable ally for the past five years. Not only is it very interesting and inspiring to the thoughtful boy and his parents, but it stimulates us, the boy's teachers, to try out related projects such as our individual needs demand and our teaching environment permits.

While Latin is constantly growing more difficult to teach, it can be said also to be growing more interesting in its possibilities as a secondary-school subject. Today we can consistently discuss patriotism, peace, and war in a Caesar, Cicero, or Vergil class and be sure of a more intelligent and active interest than ever before. The times make it possible. Yes, and let us classicists reach up to our opportunities. The ideal of service which we Americans write in the creed of strong men has a most forceful expression in "Pro Archia." In short, the fact that discussions of such timely topics as military strategy, European geography, munitions of war, international law, and national characteristics and ideals can have a place in the friendly atmosphere of the Latin classroom presses home the universality of appeal of that which is truly classic.

Boys and girls of today are reading newspapers and magazines with eager interest and a purpose larger and more vital than ever before. In most high schools in either the history or English course, students are required to do reading of this sort regularly. And so it is that such periodicals as the *Literary Digest*, *Outlook*, and *Independent* are a part of the material for study. In these the Latin teacher has a treasure-house close by, but perhaps has not yet searched it. Make the periodical supply lists for study in derivation. The student feels the need of understanding words in today's



English and material can be chosen to fit any scheme, detailed or brief in its demand, that the teacher wishes to use. Interesting word-histories are brought to light which will be recalled frequently, as these will belong to everyday English. Here is a list taken from a recent *Literary Digest* which illustrates the variety and timeliness of this material: travesty, reprisal, paternalism, multifarious, nil, delirium, armistice, emanating, par, belligerent, plenipotentiaries, propaganda, evacuation, succinctly, peremptory, international, insensate, inimical, pinnacle, crucial, resilient, vulcanize, gradients, deterrent, magnanimity, incandescent, recurrent, supervene, ramify, negotiations, inexorable, ultimatum, demobilization, contingency, tentatively, corroborative.

We are teaching language-structure. Let us, then, allow Latin syntax to reveal the realities of English structure in so far as possible. Place side by side an English expression and a Latin example to illustrate a certain case-use or difference in idiom. Let the student bring to his prose-composition recitation English sentences from current periodicals that illustrate the points in the lesson of the day. Perhaps he will discover that syntax is not something hidden away in his Caesar to be brought out and aired only in his Latin classroom. Then, too, he will have it before his very eyes that the English yields a varied expression of some ideas that he has habitually put into certain stereotyped forms in his translation of the Latin and he may try to use more natural and idiomatic English. In one article in a recent *Independent* over fifty different verb and noun uses were illustrated. Another use of the periodical in the prose-composition class is to select passages for actual translation into Latin. President Wilson's speeches furnish good material for this.

Prove to your Cicero classes that writers and speakers of today use anaphora, asyndeton, and other rhetorical devices for the purpose of persuasion. In an article in the *Literary Digest* for September 28, Cicero students can find the following devices for varied and forceful expression: anaphora, asyndeton, polysyndeton, metaphor, alliteration, antithesis, parallelism, climax, rhetorical questions, imperatives, exclamations, short sentences, picturesque words, and rhetorical word-order.

"Will Our Roads Stand Truck Traffic?" and "Shall We Keep on Saving Daylight?", articles in an issue of the *Literary Digest* a few weeks ago, bring up for the student of Roman life and customs the subjects of Roman roads and daylight saving among the Romans. The boy who has been reading the Helvetian campaign cannot but react to the article on the "New Swiss Route to Salt Water" in the same issue. The department of "Current Poetry" in this magazine often offers much that can be brought to the student's attention in the way of classical allusions and forms. The number mentioned above has a sonnet entitled, "Sidera sunt Testes et Matutina Pruina." Many high-school students appreciated Henry van Dyke's story in the *Outlook* of November 13, "A Classic Instance," especially if its significance were discussed in the Latin classroom.

The advertising pages in most periodicals are not lacking in appeal to the Latin student either in the way of decorative designs or names of products. It is easy to make an interesting list.

Within the walls of our Latin course today we have most valuable instruments for our purposes, but why not go outside with our students and allow these extra-mural tools to serve us too?

## Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### CLASSICAL STANDARDS IN CONTEMPORARY SCHOOLS

In the *Classical Journal* of October, 1918, E. T. M. devotes the greater part of his review of Professor Browne's lectures to strictures on the teacher of classics in the secondary school. With his desire for well-trained pupils I am in full concordance, but I think he has not given due consideration to some facts which are of prime importance in the discussion of the topic he has raised.

To E. T. M.'s statement of the amount of Latin read by the pupil in the secondary school of a generation ago no one can take exception; for each one of us did that work to secure admission to college. And we all know that his second point, that many teachers, particularly of the public schools, are desirous of a still further diminution of the required Latin, is true. But to his assertion that "He [i.e., the pupil of a generation ago] had no more time to accomplish this than at present," I wish to take exception.

When my classmates and I were preparing for college at Phillips Academy, the required recitations per week were sixteen one-hour periods; a few had one or two more hours in order to add one of the minor requirements for college admission. Today at Phillips a lad must carry twenty one-hour periods per week. Of these, Latin still has twenty-five per cent. In 1896 we were able to secure admission on one year of French or of German, a four-hour course; today, thanks to the colleges' demand for better students and increased preparation, a lad must study two years of French or of German in order to meet the minimum requirement, and either nine or ten hours are the fixed standard. Our history, then Greek and Roman, was given in one two-hour course, Greek history being studied until February, Roman to the end of the year; and we found no great difficulty in meeting the college test and in knowing something about those two countries; today the college requires that the course in history shall consist of five recitation periods and insists on such a preparation that only a lad of considerable maturity can successfully meet the test. In 1896 geometry was covered easily by the work in the old Wentworth, in which we did the majority of the original propositions; today the emphasis is laid increasingly on the solution of originals, and the actual increment of time required to gain such proficiency is scarcely measured by the additional hour of recitation granted each week. It is practically within the generation that English was added to the curriculum of the secondary school. In my time three hours per week were given to this subject; today a lad has four hours in two of his four years in English, but the attention to detail and the accuracy

and knowledge required are vastly increased; yet the contempt and disgust of the college professor over the ignorance of English in each incoming Freshman class are vocalized with increasing vehemence. If a lad, as is now permitted by our generous colleges, substitutes chemistry or physics for his senior Latin, his laboratory course, a necessary concomitant of three hours of text, uses up four more recitation periods, the nine hours counting as five on his schedule, because for his laboratory course no outside preparation is required. The algebra today, so my colleagues who teach the subject tell me, is increased by a large amount and by the degree of proficiency demanded.

These facts leave untouched the padding of "practical" courses required in most public schools. They show that today in the judgment of the colleges there are no minor subjects in the preparation for college admission; each stands on an equality with every other and each college department insists most jealously that its subject be given as much time in the secondary school as any other.

There is one result to this situation. The secondary school has perforce increased the required hours of instruction, thereby lessening the hours of preparation open to the pupil unless he devote to study hours needed for sleep and recreation. A second result is the growing dependence of the pupil on instruction instead of self-development; to me this is prostituting education. One gets the best *pate de foie gras* by spiking a goose's feet to the floor and ramming food down its throat; but we ought not to aim at a similar process and result in training our pupils.

The lessening of the hours that may be devoted to preparation and the necessity of being equally proficient in each subject cause the student to divide up his time evenly among his subjects; in consequence Latin cannot receive much more than an hour and a half of preparation per recitation; yet I dare the assertion that in our generation many a lad spent three, four, or even five hours of preparation on many a Latin lesson. Today that is impossible.

Is the lad of the present day of inferior mental ability? Is he less industrious? To each question I answer most emphatically, "No." But he is dazed by the pressure. The college, in its effort to improve, broaden, and deepen the work of the preparatory schools and thereby to get students better qualified to run with success the college course, has forgotten that there are limits to a growing lad's mental powers; and in insisting on a maturity of judgment and on a maximum of attainment in too wide a field has doomed its own purposes to defeat.

HORACE MARTIN POYNTER

PHILLIPS ACADEMY  
ANDOVER, MASS.

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ON *B.G.* i. 40. 5

Of the twenty-five instances of *cum* with the indicative in the *Gallie War*, eighteen are of the "whenever" type, four of these with the present tense, eight with the perfect, and six with the pluperfect. There are, besides, three

instances of "*cum* inverse" (6. 7. 2; 6. 8. 1; 7. 26. 3), one with *cum primum* (3. 9. 2), one of definite time (6. 12. 1), and two of the type which Hale calls "forward-moving relative clauses," where *cum* equals *et tum* (1. 1. 4; 1. 40. 5). The second of these two passages runs as follows: *Factum eius hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum . . . non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur*. This is the only imperfect indicative with *cum* in the Gallic War, and is notable also because it retains the indicative in an indirect subordinate clause.

Most of the indicatives scattered through indirect discourse are easily explained as parenthetical or explanatory statements, inserted by the narrator, and so not really a part of the quotation. Some of the Caesar textbooks, in their grammatical references on this passage, explain *videbatur* in this way, though the clause seems very clearly to be a part of the original speech. Three of our best-known Latin Grammars also state that the indicative is used in indirect discourse "to emphasize the fact stated," and a number of the textbooks explain *videbatur* in this way. But this use of the indicative in indirect discourse is not recognized by some of the most complete and most reliable grammars, and there is some ground for thinking that the category may have been specially made for this particular passage, for two of the three grammars which have this category give no illustrative quotation, and the third quotes this passage only. Moreover, why should Caesar, the *historian*, wish to emphasize to his *readers* this particular fact? Or why does this fact need more emphasis than the one directly following showing the advantage possessed by the gladiators under Spartacus because of their training in the Roman arena?

As a substitute for these explanations I can only suggest very tentatively that the indicative may here have been retained in order to preserve the special meaning of the indicative with *cum* in distinction from its circumstantial use with the subjunctive. I have found no other similar instances, but this case would be analogous to the tendency of *dum*, meaning "while," to keep the indicative under similar circumstances.

This passage is also responsible for one of the most stupid comments it has ever been my lot to read. A very good school edition of Caesar, after saying that "this indicative emphasizes the fact," sensibly suggests that Caesar thus refers to the army of Marius "as a hint to his own army to be equally deserving of praise." A textbook published a few years later, whose editors, I very much fear, had the earlier edition before them as they wrote, tries to combine the two ideas in one sentence, and says that "the indicative emphasizes the fact, and thus stimulates the soldiers to do as well." The editors apparently are not concerned with the fact that any stimulation of the soldiers must have occurred several years before Caesar, as a historian, decided to retain the indicative used in the original speech.

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## Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southern States; and by Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

### California

The twentieth annual meeting of the *Philological Association of the Pacific Coast* was held in San Francisco on Saturday, November 30, 1918. Owing to the necessity of holding classes on Friday, the sessions were this year confined to one day. The following papers were read:

"The Poimandres, a Type of Second-Century Religious Philosophy," by Dr. William J. Wilson, of the Hitchcock Military Academy; "The Four Daughters of God in Spain," by Professor Hope Traver, of Mills College; "The Canterbury Tales at Chaucer's Death," by Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "Notes on Stevenson's Olalla," by Professor Ramón Jaén, of the University of California; "Latin Adjectival Clauses with the Subjunctive," by Professor Frank H. Fowler, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "More Light on the Greek Theater of the Fifth Century, B.C.," by Professor James T. Allen, of the University of California; "Chaucer's Prioress's Tale," by Professor Walter Morris Hart, of the University of California; "The Real Nature of Dissimilation," by Professor Albert J. Carnoy, of the University of California; "The Wrath of Achilles," by Professor Augustus T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Junior University. In addition, the following papers were presented to be read by title: "On Some Passages in the *Silvae* of Statius," by Professor William A. Merrill, of the University of California; "Hrozný's Conception of Hittite," by Professor George Hempl, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "An Idiomatic Use of 'This,'" by Professor William H. Carruth, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "A Note on Goethe's Advocacy of Burns," by Dr. Lawrence M. Price, of the University of California; "Interpretation of the First Canto of the Divine Comedy," by Professor Oliver M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "New Gods for Old," by Dr. William Chislett, Jr., of the University of California; "Aristotle's Theory of Poetry in the Light of the New

Aesthetic," by Professor Jefferson Elmore, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; "Vowel Gemination in English Spelling," by Dr. Arthur G. Kennedy, of the Leland Stanford Junior University. At the evening session, the retiring president, Professor Gilbert Chinard, of the University of California, delivered an address bearing the title, "Literature and International Misinterpretations." Under a witty manner Professor Chinard presented some serious thoughts touching the danger of judging the spirit of a nation solely through its intellectual manifestations in literature.

The officers elected for the ensuing year are: president, H. C. Nutting, of the University of California; vice-presidents, J. S. P. Tatlock and W. A. Cooper, of the Leland Stanford Junior University; secretary and treasurer, respectively, S. G. Morley and Geo. M. Calhoun, of the University of California. Executive Committee: (with the above), C. G. Allen, B. O. Foster, Kelley Rees, and H. G. Shearin.

### Illinois

The fifteenth meeting of the *Chicago Classical Club* was held at the Hotel La Salle, December 7, 1918. The attendance (63), though not the largest in the history of the club, marked an improvement over recent sessions. The delectable luncheon was diversified by the singing of Latin songs under the leadership of Mr. W. L. Carr, of the University High School. Reports from the Latin Front revealed an encouraging situation. Some high schools had actually increased their Latin registration, nearly all had at least held their own, and only a few had suffered an appreciable loss. The schools in the third group usually had a decrease in total enrolment as well as in Latin. In accordance with custom, the president of the club, Mr. Roy C. Flickinger, of Northwestern University, was the first speaker of the year. His most interesting lecture, which was entitled "Greece Before Homer," dealt with Schliemann's excavations at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns, etc., and those of Evans and others in Crete, and was illustrated with stereopticon views and electroplate reproductions. In the interest of sociability the members sat at small tables, each of which was provided with a host and hostess.

The Chicago Classical Club was organized early in 1914. The presidents have been Messrs. John A. Scott, Gordon J. Laing, Omer F. Long, and Robert J. Bonner. The officers for the current year are Mr. Roy C. Flickinger, president; Miss Frances Etten, of the Wendell Phillips High School, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. James Gibson, of the Schurz High School, Mr. William T. McCoy, of the Wendell Phillips High School, and Miss Laura B. Woodruff, of the Oak Park High School, as additional members of the Executive Committee. The membership was put upon a more definite basis last year by requiring members to pay dues, and at this last meeting the constitution was changed so that others than teachers may belong. The programs have always been of a character to interest a larger public, and an effort will now be made to extend the membership list. A yearbook will probably be published sometime next

spring. The winter meeting will be devoted to a classical forum on a subject of outstanding importance and will be held Saturday, February 8, 1919.

### Texas

At the *Texas State Teachers' Association*, recently, in Dallas, one put aside the fear that the present-day trend of vocational education might encroach upon the established position of the classics. However, we of the faith regret that the setting forth in so unanswerable a manner the value of our subject, even to those vocations that scoff at its merit while reaping its benefits unawares, could not have been presented to those who ungratefully criticize without reflection or investigation.

W. G. Phelps of the Terrill School at Dallas gave some exceedingly practical hints to first-year Latin teachers. The representative body of teachers who heard him took on new courage as they added his spirit of enthusiasm to their own. He measured the future strength of the Latin student by the thoroughness and interest of the first year's work. He also caused numbers of teachers who communicated their comments throughout the audience by a sort of wireless method to be "Sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought" as he intimated that the teacher who allowed a question as to the value of Latin to arise in his class should thereupon retire to the ranks of vocational employment. The adroit suggestion was appreciated and we could not but be appalled at the possible sudden exodus!

Mr. Major of Abilene emphasized Latin as the best of all subjects for developing a *language sense*, hinting also at its service in tying together the Romance languages.

E. S. McCartney of the University of Texas gave an interesting illustrated lecture on "Life and Monuments of the Roman Campagna."

A pertinent suggestion offered was that if Latin is to have lasting value it must be so connected with the English that it becomes inseparable, thereby rendering it impossible for the one-time Latin student to *forget* his Latin.

A telling illustration of the dependence of English on Latin was given by a teacher who had her classes clip from a daily newspaper each Latin word. When they were all clipped the paper would no longer hold together.

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At the last meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Professor Benjamin L. D'Ooge of the Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, gave an illustrated lecture on "Modern and Ancient Methods of Warfare." To the many requesting the use of this material he wishes to announce that he will be glad to send the lecture and slides to anyone that cares to assume the expenses of transportation.

## General Comment

[Edited by Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, The University of Missouri.]

The Ingersoll Lecture on the Immortality of Man was delivered at Harvard University in 1918 by Professor Clifford Herschel Moore, his subject being "Pagan Ideas of Immortality during the Early Christian Centuries." The lecture has been printed by the Harvard University Press. According to the provisions of the foundation the lecturer may be either a clergyman or a layman. Among the lecturers of former years may be mentioned William James, President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Josiah Royce, John Fiske, Sir William Osler, Rev. Samuel McChord Crothers, Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, Professor George Herbert Palmer, and Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson.

In the *American Historical Review* for October, 1918, Professor A. E. R. Boak writes on "The Extraordinary Commands from 80 to 48 B.C.; A Study in the Origins of the Principate." "The ultimate basis of the Principate, as established by Augustus, was the imperium, unrestricted in its scope, which gave its holder the supreme command over the whole army of the empire, so that all troops took the military oath of allegiance to him and obeyed his orders." Way had been prepared for this by the numerous preceding "extraordinary imperia of a military nature," and "the career of Pompey the Great especially foreshadowed that of Augustus." Numerous examples of extraordinary commands are collected and arranged in chronological sequence. These all fall into four groups: (1) those under senatorial control, (2) those for the control of which there was rivalry between the senate and the comitia, (3) the rival commands of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus, and (4) a section dealing with Pompey as the forerunner of Augustus.

The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies held on November 8 a Symposium on the Value of the Classics. The speakers and their subjects were as follows: "Modern Languages," President W. W. Comfort, of Haverford College; "Engineering," Professor Harold Pender, of the Towne Scientific School, the University of Pennsylvania; "Law," Professor David Werner Amram, of the Law School, the University of Pennsylvania; "Medicine," Dr. Charles R. Turner, Dean of the Evans Dental Institute, the University of Pennsylvania; "Biology," Professor Spencer Trotter, of Swarthmore College; "Historical Studies," Professor Morris Jastrow, of the

University of Pennsylvania; "Architecture," Leicester Bodine Holland, of the Department of Architecture, the University of Pennsylvania; "Journalism," Mr. Fullerton L. Waldo, Associate Editor of *The Public Ledger*; "Theology," Rev. Phillips E. Osgood, of the Chapel of the Mediator; "Education," Professor Frank P. Graves, of the School of Education, the University of Pennsylvania; "The College Curriculum," President M. Carey Thomas, of Bryn Mawr College.

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From time to time the American-Hellenic Society has been issuing pamphlets indicating the just claims of Greece for consideration when the final terms of peace are being worked out. A recent pamphlet, entitled *Hellenism in Asia Minor*, is of special interest, not only because it sheds much light upon the Greek population of Asia Minor, but also because the author is a teacher in a famous German university. Written by a man primarily concerned with the interests of the Fatherland, it carries all the more conviction when it brings before us the characteristics of the Greeks as contrasted with those of the Turks, their masters. The introduction, by Mr. Theodore P. Ion, presents a succinct account of the part played throughout history by Asia Minor in conserving Hellenism. It is hard to exaggerate this point when we recall the part it played in stemming the tide of Persian invasion. Here also many of the early philosophers were born and here later was reared the stronghold of Christianity and here were found the homes of some of the greatest of the church fathers. Throughout the Middle Ages it was a constant barrier against the onslaughts of barbarism. Through all the varying fortunes of the world it fostered and maintained the idea of Greek nationality and succeeded in keeping alive the great traditions of its past. A good account is given of the schools supported in this region of some 335,000 square miles. Even where Turkish population predominates the Greek schools, supported by Greeks at their own expense, show by far the greater number of students. In these schools Turkish-speaking Greeks are taught their ancestral tongue and unity of race is strengthened. One is forced to admire the perseverance of a race which, under the handicap of Turkish subjection, has struggled so long and so successfully to preserve the memory of its ancient glory. Dr. Oeconomides adds a chapter on the history of Pontus with remarks on the Greek dialect spoken there. Included also is a very good map of Asia Minor. The reading of this booklet cannot fail to intensify a desire to see this Greek community throw off the Turkish yoke and be allowed an opportunity to develop its worthy national aspirations.



## Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d St., New York City.

- BOGART, E. E. *Latin Vocabulary for the First Two Years*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Pp. 5+65. \$0.32.
- CLARK, A. C. *The Descent of Manuscripts*. New York: Oxford University Press. 8vo, pp. 16+456. \$11.20.
- DEUTSCH, M. E. *The Death of Lepidus, Leader of the Revolution of 78 B.C.* (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 59-68). Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press. \$0.10.
- GASELEE, STEPHEN. *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*. London: John Murray. 8vo, pp. 128.
- GOAD, CAROLINE. *Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*. (Yale Studies in English.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 8vo, pp. 641. Paper, \$3.00 net.
- LAURAND, L. *Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines*. Fascicule V. Littérature latine. Paris: Librairie des Archives nationales. 8vo, pp. 489-622.
- LOFBERG, J. O. *Sycophancy in Athens*. Chicago: Private edition, distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries. 8vo, pp. 104.
- PIKE, J. B. *The Short Stories of Lucius Apuleius*. With introduction and notes. (College Latin Series.) Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 12mo, pp. 39+148. \$1.50 net.
- SCHUETTE, C. *First and Second Year Latin*. 2 vols. Collegeville, Ind.: St. Joseph's College. 12mo, pp. 272 and 262. Each, \$1.25 net.
- SCOTT, H. F. *A First Latin Book*. For Junior High Schools. (Lake Classical Series.) Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co. 12mo, pp. 31+326. \$1.00.